JPRS 79469

18 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1942

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 79469

18 November 1981

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1942

CONTENTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ Weekly on Dangers of Polish Worker Management
(TRIBUNA, 16, 23 Sep 81)..... 1

Socialist System Endangered, by Karel Horak
Economic Base Threatened, by Karel Horak

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

August 1981 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Rene Heilig; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 Aug 81) 3

Closer Attention to 'Citizens' Concerns' Urged
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 4 Aug 81; EINHEIT, Aug 81) 4

West German Commentary
SED Functionaries'Discussion, by Werner Boehme, Lothar Steglich

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(EINHEIT, Aug 81) 13

ROMANIA

Activity of 'AGERPRES' Discussed by Director
(Ion Cumpanasu Interview; PRESA NOASTRA, Jul 81) 17

Activity of Presenting Romania Abroad Discussed
(George Potra, et al.; PRESA NOASTRA, Jul 81) 26

Role of Sociologist in Socialist Society
(Adrian Dinu Rachieru; ERA SOCIALISTA, 20 Aug 81) 34

Legal Aspects of Organ Transplant Process Examined
(Ioan Chelaru; REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, Jul 81)..... 39

YUGOSLAVIA

Additional Comments From Ivan Stambolic Interview
(Ivan Stambolic Interview; VJESNIK, 26 Sep 81) 47

Pay Scales for Officials Analyzed, Argued
(NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 27, 29 Sep 81; ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA, 6 Oct 81) 61

Call for Publication, Change, by Scepan Rabrenovic
Situation in Serbia, D. Jovanovic
Situation in Slovenia
Croatian Trade Unionist Interviewed

CPCZ WEEKLY ON DANGERS OF POLISH WORKER MANAGEMENT

Socialist System Endangered

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 37, 16 Sep 81 p 3

/First installment of article by Karel Horak: "In the Service of Counterrevolution" entitled "What Hides Behind Worker Self-Management"/

/Excerpt/ Solidarity's plan to form a so-called workers self-management in enterprises and willfully organizing a movement for implementation of this plan is also in full agreement with Solidarity's power aspirations. The plan is based on the intention to abolish the socialist collective ownership of the means of production and thus to deprive the socialist state of its economic support. According to Solidarity, the so-called workers self-management should be fully authorized to manage an enterprise, including the right of appointing the director, and the state should not intervene in enterprise management at all. That is not all. The ownership of the enterprise should be transferred from collective state ownership to ownership by the workers collective, that is to group ownership, which would gradually evolve into the capitalist type ownership.

The question, who should use these "collective enterprises"--as they should be called--is not without interest. An official document, which characterizes their conception, says: "Self-management can be formed only on the initiative and with the support of Solidarity...," no other initiatives in establishing self-management will be strong enough to assert themselves, or they will be used in an attempt by management to manipulate Solidarity.

The logic of development is inexorable. Very often it discloses the actual objectives and intentions of individual actors in the political struggle which is taking place. One, who wants political power must necessarily acquire control over the economy. Expressed simply, the ownership of the means of production is one of the fundamental factors defining the nature of political power. That is why Solidarity endeavors to abolish collective ownership, to convert it into group ownership (which is essentially private) and to liquidate the principles of socialist planned management of the economy.

Economic Base Threatened

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 38, 23 Sep 81 p 3

/Second installment of article by Karel Horak: "In the Service of Counterrevolution"

/Excerpt/ The main attack at the congress was directed toward the very foundations of socialism--the collective ownership of the means of production. The congress approved the principles of the so-called economic reform, which is supposed to be implemented through "self-managed collective economic mechanisms." The essence of the reform is constituted by the demand to convert collective ownership of the means of production to group ownership (which in practice means private ownership), and to deprive the state of both any ability to influence the management of the economy and the authority to appoint enterprise directors. At the same time, the congress appealed to the Sejm not to accept the government proposed law on self-management and state enterprise and, instead, to organize a nationwide referendum on Solidarity's proposal. If the Sejm were to turn down this ultimatum, Solidarity decided to organize the referendum by itself, and if the Sejm approved of the government proposal on the laws, Solidarity would ignore them.

Solidarity modestly does not say that this approach aims at depriving the state of the economic base and thus in fact to liquidate it. The main essence of this so-called economic reform is hidden behind dogmatic phrases about transferring the factories to workers. It is not difficult to decide, who would control and manage them. It would be the same class which the Polish people deprived of the control of the country and the ownership of the means of production 36 years ago.

9814
CSO: 2400/21

AUGUST 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Aug 81 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 8, August 1981, signed to press 9 July 1981, pp 737-848: "Clear Conception for the 1980's." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Science in our society is a central theme in EINHEIT No 8, 1981. "Further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR in economic, social and cultural respects today depends largely on our ability to use, and also to determine in fact, the results of the scientific-technical revolution," Kurt Hager observes. Through the economic strategy for the 1980's as developed at the 10th SED Congress, he emphasizes, we have a clear concept for the growth of social production and thus also for the fundamental requirement for science. An essential aspect of our science policy therefore was our still more closely combining the science potentials of the combines, academies and university institutions. It was important to extend branch-specific basic research in the combines and to continue in speeding up the applicability of data from the Academy and the universities.

Helmut Koziolek, the author of another article, continues those ideas. He explains essential aspects of our party's economic strategy and stresses the close interaction among the 10 key points in this far-reaching guideline.

Greater economic effectiveness should have to be attained by means of modern science. That was a constructive response to the changed requirements under which the main task was going to be smoothly continued in its unity of economic and social policy throughout the 1980's.

The August issue of EINHEIT also features experiences in interdisciplinary research at the Academy of Sciences, recorded by Ulrich Hofmann and Wolfgang Marschall, and an article by Wolfgang Herger about the growing responsibility of youth to coping with scientific-technical progress.

5885
CSO: 2300/33

CLOSER ATTENTION TO 'CITIZENS' CONCERNS' URGED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 115, 4 Aug 81 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Criticizes Law Infringements by State Organs." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Ernst Timm, party boss of Rostock Bezirk, now has accused the GDR state organs of not paying enough attention to citizens' concerns and of infringing the law in processing petitions. Recent surveys by the party control commission in Rostock Bezirk had confirmed that in this field "still many deficiencies" had to be "overcome." The functionary asked the SED kreis managements to check the state organs' "respect for law" in their processing petitions. At the same time he granted, at the most recent session of the SED bezirk management, that recently, especially during the debates for the recent people's elections, the work collectives and the population had presented concerns "in great number and partly most critically."

The SED organ EINHEIT (No 8, 1981) also has expressed great dissatisfaction with the processing of petitions. Everywhere one should have to struggle resolutely, the journal asked, "that petitions are nowhere handled contemptuously, superficially or even heartlessly." The citizens' trust in the state was being undermined by someone who disregarded established processing deadlines or, instead of checking all possibilities, sought a convenient way out by asserting: "it won't work."

SED Functionaries' Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 8, Aug 81 (Signed to press 9 Jul 81) pp 799-805

['Party and People' feature article by Werner Boehme, sector chief, and Lothar Steglich, staff employee, SED Central Committee: "On Civic Closeness of Our People's Representations"]

> [Text] What makes for a civic closeness of our people's representations? What makes a working style relate to the people? How can we still more comprehensively mobilize the people's creative capacities by involving the citizens even while we are looking for decisions through highly effective publicity

work and a careful handling of petitions with all their suggestions, criticisms and recommendations? Many experiences and examples are adduced as an answer to these questions.

The socialist state which embodies the power of the workers and farmers, also holds decided guarantees for obtaining the great goals the SED decided on at its 10th party congress for the good of the people. That is why the party always sees to it that the socialist state consistently fulfills its role as the main instrument of the working people under working class leadership. It places great expectations in the vital force of the people's representations as the elected organs of this state power and in the creative activities of its deputies--from the People's Chamber, the supreme power organ of the GDR, down to the smallest communal representation.[1] The people's representations are functioning corporate bodies which in and through their activity implement the unity of decision-making, implementation and supervision. Do do not act in place but on behalf of the citizens. The broad involvement of the working people in the management and planning of social processes becomes a more and more typical criterion of life in socialism and is indispensable for the work of the deputies and for good results of their work.

A People-related Working Style

Transforming the will of the citizens--to accept the challenges of the 1980's and further strengthen the GDR through great performance improvements, politically, economically and militarily--into concrete activities calls for a working style that is most relevant to life and marked by comradely relations with the citizens and by knowing what concerns them. Civic closeness, relevance to life, solidarity with the people--that requires and encourages the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, engaged in systematically and consistently, a policy that makes the good of the people into the measure of all things, as espoused in great unanimity by our country's citizens in the people's elections on 14 June.

Genuine people's power is deeply democratic. For the first time the working people, through establishing the political power of the workers class and creating socialist production relations, no longer are an object of political rule but the sole support and subject of political power. On that also is based the new human relationship which becomes more and more marked as one of comradely cooperation and mutual aid. In making this social innovation fully prevail with all its advantages, we create the conditions "for implementing on an increasingly higher level the meaning of socialism to do everything for the good of the people, the interests of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people."[2] Our socialist state, the main instrument of the workers class and its allies, fulfills its function in this process because it functions as the organizational form of socialist democracy and as the instrument for its development at one and because its organs, through being relevant to life and affiliated with the people, critically help release the social energies and creative capacities of the working people. Civic closeness and closeness with the people are implied by the nature of the people's political power, the nature of a policy that is oriented to the interests of the people.

Civic closeness and solidarity with the people--that logically is a decisive principle in the work of the people's representations and their organs, because nothing is done for its own sake, everything is done for the good of working people. Working with relevance to life and civic closeness implies familiarizing the working people with this policy in its entirety, and with the connection between domestic and foreign policy all the way down to communal problems. Relevance to life also means conferring with the citizens about the tasks at hand, jointly finding feasible approaches, and that means learning from them and teaching them, seeking their counsel and paying careful attention to their problems. Keeping an open ear for the citizens' concerns, showing them respect, understanding them and being understood by them--all that must inform the people's solidarity of our people's representations. Civic closeness is no catchphrase that might be interpreted at will, in accordance with subjective notions or local exigencies. Rather, it defines a working style that results objectively from the deeply democratic character of the workers' and farmers' state power and becomes all the more a compelling precept in view of the high demands of the 1980's.

The civic closeness of the people's representations and their organs is inherent even in the ways and means of their formation and composition: the deputies come out of the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers and from all other working strata. Even before the future candidates are nominated, they are checked over by the work collectives. In the places where they do their everyday work they are known by their work, and there it can be expertly judged whether their words and deeds conform in their political, occupational and personal lives. And those will pass their tests there who, as good custodians of the people's interests, of our socialist fatherland, have sound political knowledge, a fine education and technical skills, expertise and rich experience in life, and are deeply rooted in their work collective in the enterprise and in the social life of their residential area. Comrade Erich Honecker pointed that out at an election meeting in Karl-Marx-Stadt: "You have put your candidates through their paces. They stem from your ranks. They will carry out the policy contained in the election appeal from the National Front of the GDR, which is in the interest of the workers class and all the working people."[3] And these very deputies remain working people after being elected, remain tied to the people, have to account for their activity and can be dismissed if they fall short in their duties.

Mobilizing the People's Creative Capacities

Civic closeness becomes real, however, not merely by that there exist more than 200,000 deputies or by the quality and composition of the people's representations and their organs. Civic closeness is made real precisely also by the systematic and consistent activity of the people's representations. That mainly means making the preparation and implementation of the plan the pivot and fulcrum of the work. The plan, after all, is the most concentrated expression of the party policy as aimed at the well-being of the people, in which the social requirements and the working people's and collectives' initiatives toward their solution crystallize. That the people's representation work according to plans consequently also means promoting the working people's initiatives in socialist competition and providing much space for their activities, because fulfilling and a targeted overfulfilling of the plan, and achieving the ambitious competition obligations, require the working people's creativity and innovator spirit in every enterprise as in every town and community. Working according to plan thus includes precise state

management and a high personal commitment by each deputy, manager and associate in the state apparatus and their resolute everyday advocacy of high plan and state discipline.

Everywhere we want initiatives, a high sense of responsibility, conscious discipline, and spotting, and promoting, what is innovative and progressive. In Stassfurt Kreis for instance the deputies actively involved themselves in the discussion of the 1981 economic plan, explained the kreis draft plan in their collectives and familiarized the working people with their increased requirements. Together with their work collectives the deputies committed themselves to exceeding the plan. At the same time they intend to improve the efficiency of their own work and of deputy activity as such. Such targets can of course only be achieved if the initiators mobilize the whole work collective for it. Only together with his collective can a deputy assume such an obligation. To that end he must exercise a convincing and mobilizing effect, advance cogent arguments in political mass activity and set a model in persistence and standing power. This was the way in which, for instance, foundry worker Dietmar Fischer, kreis assembly deputy of Stassfurt, led a large collective of 200 colleagues into creative action. As a result, among other things, 92 tons of cast metal were produced in excess of the plan, 150 tons of material were saved, rejects were diminished at a clip of 0.8 percent, and 2 percent was saved in melting costs.

The Citizens' Involvement in Decision-making

Civic closeness by the people's representations and their organs means conferring with the citizens in all crucial matters, familiarizing them with relevant aspects, explaining problems that arise to them, listening to their counsel and learning from them. The more complicated the tasks may be--as they are more multiform and far-reaching in their interconnections and ramifications--, the more necessary is the citizens' participation in various forms in the management of the state and the economy. We have a golden treasure here which must still more effectively be mined: the high educational level of the citizens, their class-bound political circumspection, and their greater interest in the clarification and settling of civic affairs and in effectively solving economic tasks. For developing a working style of civic closeness it is crucial to provide ideological clarity everywhere about the fact that in our socialist democracy awareness, responsibility and the citizens' participation depend on one another: awareness, on the knowledge about what is socially necessary; responsibility, on the deliberate exercise of civic rights and duties; and participation, on direct involvement in forming a will all the way to the implementation of what has been resolved.

The strength of the people's representations and their organs is exponential to the degree that they use and convert in their activity these elements in the political exercise of power, civic activities in various ways and many different forms. Not the quantity but the result is what always matters. The value of socialist cooperative efforts is not measured by how many commissions and task forces there are. Rather, high results are achieved, e.g. in territorial rationalization, where after a careful feasibility study the citizens' means and activities are concentrated on major focal points, and where every consultation about it is well prepared and it is made clear what is to be done in whatever form. Deputies and councils in the city of Halle have demonstrated that by working closely together with the citizens,

holding consultations "in situ," organizing conversations between groups of council members and working people on the job, receiving status reports from the managements, engaging in exchange of experiences and conveying the experiences of the best workers.

The permanent commissions of the city kreis assemblies are also working in such practically relevant manner. Members of the territorial rationalization commission have taken part directly in the 1981 plan discussion in enterprises in various economic branches and there, together with the working people, traced further possibilities for tapping territorial reserves. In the outcome, among other things, approximately 160,000 machine hours were put to use and an output of M 7.5 million was achieved, and a considerable saving of fuel resulted in intra-plant traffic through deeper cooperative work.

To involve the citizens in searching for decisions is an important side of the people's representations' and their councils' work in civic closeness. The Stralsund construction information center, doing that, picked up directly the citizens' concern for urban renewal. Construction blueprints, models and sketches challenged the visitors to express their own opinions and come up with suggestions themselves. Thousands of citizens have made use of such a possibility. The number of their recommendations and suggestions--down to the color and architectural design of facades in the city center--exceeded all expectations. In conferences between deputies, state functionaries and architects many a solution was then rendered more specific or was reconsidered.

Working in civic closeness calls for a working style that pays attention even to time economy in this public partnership. What is the form to be used to achieve the optimum? This aspect also governs the interaction between the deputies with their responsible tasks and their work collectives and the contact with their voters in the election districts and residential areas. They combine every day the occupational work, the political work of the deputies in their work collectives, and the concerted efforts of the deputy groups in enterprises and cooperatives with the problems of the working people. When deputies conduct hours for public inquiries in the enterprises, about plan fulfillment, the application of best experiences, the way of how to get to top achievements, industrial cooperation with public state organs, and the use of territorial reserves for performance development, as they have been doing in Magdeburg Bezirk, the point precisely is that they want to use the citizens' opinions, suggestions, references and criticism in state management activity. So always again new impulses can be released for implementing the decisions and for working out solution alternatives for ripened development problems. How the workers' word, the experiences of the working class, crystallize in state decisions, that to a good part expresses what we mean by civic closeness.

Increased Effectiveness for Publicity

Another, no less important, aspect of working in civic closeness is found in the deputies' contact with their voters and in the cooperation between the state organs and their associates and the citizens in their residential areas. The experiences of the elections emphatically teach us this: A relationship of trust becomes most intimate where deputies have a concrete area of responsibility in certain houses, housing communities and families over a long period. A relationship of trust grows

out of permanent contact and in many places leads to the readiness to participate more vigorously in the future in the elaboration, preparation, implementation and supervision of state decisions.

To do that, a deputy or state functionary must be fully informed. On their knowledge and skill largely depends how the citizens' great demands for expert information can be satisfied. After all, we are dealing here "with knowledgeable, educated people who will not settle for commonplace and hackneyed phrases. They expect comprehensive information and cogent arguments to gain the proper political orientation."[4] Answering the deputies' questions at meetings of the people's representations, active work in the election districts, a joint elaboration of standpoints and of argumentations and of targeted, objective information, and on concrete problems in matters of communal policy, serve the satisfaction of the need for information. The council of Frankfurt (Oder) Bezirk has set down concrete stipulations for how the political mass activity is to be organized throughout the entire bezirk and how the information policy and the cooperation with publication organs are to be rendered effective. Among the various methods in state publicity work that have been found useful, as part of mass political work, are the publication of information and reports, public answers to readers' letters, and the clarification of issues that arise under standard rubrics such "deputies enroute," "on the agenda," "the interview," "city-hall information," "information from the council," "letter from the mayor," "local schedule," "on the track of decisions."

Public council meetings have been found a very good method for further reinforcing the relationship of trust between the state organs and the citizens and making the bond still tighter between the voters and the elected and arousing their interest in the solution of the task and sparking initiatives. In the city kreises of Frankfurt (Oder), Eisenhuettenstadt and Schwedt, in Rostock and in our capital Berlin, in city and town districts, such council meetings are publicly prepared, started with a touring of the town, and public conferences then continue on major tasking areas in the territory, which conclude with laying down commitments for the continuing efforts. In the eastern part of Eisenhuettenstadt, 220 citizens attended such a council session. In Schwedt there have already been three such conferences this year in municipal districts and one in the Heinersdorf suburb. In Dessau this method has been practiced for several years and has been found as expedient there as in other towns.

All this proves: "The more convincingly we explain the tasks ahead of us, and the more thoroughly they are understood, the better we succeed in involving all working people and in solving them. The key is a working style that is most relevant to life, comradely relations of the party, state and economic functionaries with the citizens, and an accurate knowledge of what concerns them. The highest value must always be attached to that in our political mass activity. Because that encourages initiative and reinforces the confidence between the party and the people, the citizens' bonds with their socialist state."[5] The citizens are by no means merely passive recipients of information. They expect concreteness, truth, together with political guidance and directions for active participation.

At an experience exchange on mass-effective forms and methods for state publicity work last year in Neubrandenburg, sponsored jointly by the city council of Neubrandenburg and the Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, it was found:

be it the plan fulfillment in the construction industry, the expediting of urgent repairs in apartment houses, plan fulfillment in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, a matter of public supplies, or conferring on problems in public education, health or culture, it all also always involves ideological demands and thus, tasks of the state organs in effective publicity work. Normally, after all, this involves measures affecting many people's working and living conditions, for which reason they must be discussed with them and can only be solved with them. That even applies to seemingly small matters, like changing business hours or traffic patterns, or reconstruction, which are important to the citizens because they affect the habitual life pattern in communal areas. When one delays publicity work until questions and problems pile up, one practically gives away what should be the guarantee for success: the working people's conscious readiness to dedicate themselves totally to a task.[6]

Careful Handling All Petitions

Great importance to shaping a working style of civic closeness also is a responsible handling of petitions, advice, suggestions and criticism--whether offered in letters to the councils or orally. That deputies, and members and associates of the state apparatus, keep an open ear to that specifically is of high political rank. A citizen, after all, addresses the state organs in confidence with his concern which, he likes to think, is in good hands there. That is why we must struggle resolutely everywhere for petitions nowhere to be treated contemptuously, superficially or even heartlessly. He who disregards established processing deadlines or, instead of checking all possibilities, seeks a convenient way out by asserting "it won't work," instead of changing things where that is necessary and possible, undermines the great trust the citizens place in the work of the people's representations. Granted, not every petition can receive a positive response, yet the general principle must be carefully to examine, process and take care of each petition. And the more this is done right on the spot together with the citizens and their collectives, the more convincing will the answer be. There is this maxim that is also incumbent on the deputies and state functionaries: "Whoever bears responsibility as a functionary in our party, state and economy will make the workers' words be heard, respond sensitively to the citizens' concerns, keenly watch all signals, react fast and carefully to the proposals and criticism of the working people and provide for solutions where they are necessary and possible. Poor routine, bureaucratic narrow-mindedness, arrogance and heartlessness in dealing with people will be found to be deeply alien to them."[7]

Especially during the election movement many citizens submitted suggestions for the development of production and on state management and communal policy tasks. Now inferences have to be drawn from them for the continued activity of the state organs, as Comrade Erich Honecker asserted at the second Central Committee session--no thought, no suggestion, no recommendation or advice must be disregarded or treated with contempt.

The participation by increasingly more working people in the exercise of state power, among them more than 200,000 deputies of the people's representations and hundreds of thousands of citizens actively engaged in volunteer work in the various forms of our socialist society's political organization form a reliable foundation for the stability of our socialist state. All their knowledge and skill, their

experiences and creative capacities must now be summoned more than ever to cope with success also with the great challenges of the 1980's. Especially from the new dimensions of the tasks to be solved arises for the work of the people's representations and the associates of the state apparatus all the more of an obligation to work in civic closeness and people's solidarity.

Civic closeness is not merely one attribute but a basic feature of the workers and farmers power. And the more we advance in the shaping of the developed socialist society and the more penetrating the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes become which we intend to achieve, the more closely must the work of the people's representations be oriented to life, to the citizens. That strengthens the authority and functioning capacity of the organs of socialist state power and reflects the ever stronger molding and perfection of socialist democracy, the main trend in the further development of our socialist state.

People's Chamber Delegates according to Mandate

	Number	Percent
SED	127	25.4
Democratic Peasant Party of German	52	10.4
NDP	52	10.4
CDU	52	10.4
Liberal Democratic Party of Germany	52	10.4
FDGB	68	13.6
FDJ	40	8.0
Democratic Women's League of Germany	35	7.0
German Cultural League	22	4.4

Local People's Representations

Deputies according to Social Position (in percent

Workers	46.6
Members of agricultural producers cooperatives, horticultural producers cooperatives and production cooperatives of working fishermen	21.8
Employees	25.4
Members of artisan producer cooperatives and commission trades	1.0
Tradesmen, independent craftsmen and self-employed	1.8
Others	3.4

Deputies according to Age-groups (in percent)

18-25	14.7
25-31	11.5
31-41	22.2
41-51	29.0
51-61	19.0
61 and above	3.6

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 116.

2. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976. pp 19-20.

3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 June 1981, p 3.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 141.

5. "Tenth Party Congress Decisions Control the Work Ahead--From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the Second SED Central Committee Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20/21 June 1981, p 1.

6. Cf. Doris Machalz-Urban, "Information and Initiative," EINHEIT, No 12, 1980, pp 1312 ff.

7. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 137.

5885
CSO: 2300/33

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 8, Aug 81 (Signed to press 9 Jul 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Science and Society

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article, originally a lecture at Freiberg Mining Academy given on the occasion of Miners' and Foundrymen's Day, 23 June 1981, by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science; pp 748-760. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Basic Research Seen as Key to Production Success," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Proceeding from the functions of science in socialism, the impulses for its development and the wholly new qualitative relations between production and science today, the article deals with fundamental conditions for the needed acceleration of scientific-technical progress, especially with basic research strategy, the correct development and use of the research potential and the further development of scientific creativity. Through a polemic against theories hostile to progress, in capitalist countries, the article explains our position on science as shaped by socialist humanism.

Economic Strategy and Development of Science

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolek, economist; member, SED Central Committee; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Economic Research Council; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 761-769. A translation of this article is published as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Basic Research Seen as Key to Production Success," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The basic feature that controls our party's economic strategy consists in taking another step toward combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. How is, in particular, the intellectual-creative potential

of our country being used to that end? Which main trends in science development have been set down in considering the ongoing speed-up, worldwide, of the scientific-technical revolution and the social exigencies and requirements?

Interdisciplinary Research Must Be Intensified

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article by Prof Dr Ulrich Hofmann, engineer, vice president, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Marschall, engineer, economist, department head, Central Institute for Economic Sciences, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 770-776. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Interdisciplinary Cooperation Urged for S&T Research," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Through more effective cooperation among the natural, social and technical sciences, the science contribution to the shaping of the developed socialist society must be intensified. What explains the need for more intensive interdisciplinary cooperation? What are the experiences of the Academy of Sciences, and what fosters and what blocks the development of interdisciplinary cooperation? What demands arise with respect to its management and planning?

Science and Technology--Youth's Proving Ground

[Summary of 'Science in Our Society' feature article by Dr Wolfgang Herger, member, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 777-784]

[Text] Continuing on a higher level the communist education of all youth is the strategic line of SED youth policy. In it, the coping with the scientific-technical revolution gains in importance under the following aspects: providing youth with the knowledge needed for coping with scientific-technical progress, working youth meeting its test in implementing the scientific-technical tasks assigned by the 10th party congress; the growing responsibility of our young scientific-technical intelligentsia.

Our Policy, Closely Tied to the People, Must Be Effectively Implemented

[Summary of 'Party and People' feature article by Hans Albrecht, engineer, economist; member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Suhl Bezirk Management; pp 785-790]

[Text] The 10th party congress decisions provided a scientific orientation and guidance for practical action for the communists, party organizations and all citizens. That the working people make the policy that is committed to the well-being of the people their very own business also is the concern of political leadership activity in the Suhl Bezirk party organization. Deepening mass solidarity and enforcing our economic strategy--higher demands arise from all that, which we must meet.

The Marxist-Leninist Party and Its Growing Leadership Role

[Summary of 'Party and People' feature article by Prof Dr Manfred Herold, economist; candidate member, SED Central Committee; first dean (prorektor). Karl Marx Party College, SED CC; pp 791-798

> [Text] Considering the challenges of the 1980's, the article shows how our Marxist-Leninist party through political creativity and with a progressive conception that is turned to the masses, which are thereby mobilized, proves once again its real leadership capacity and fulfills its growing role in the political leadership for all social processes. In arguing aggressively, the article combatively fights against the bourgeois misrepresentations of that fact.

Safeguarding Peace and Defense Preparedness

[Summary of article by Dr Werner Huebner, colonel, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 806-813]

> [Text] Safeguarding the peace and fulfilling our main task come indivisibly combined. The realization of that is becoming increasingly a motive for action for the GDR citizens that marks their growing willingness to contribute through increased personal efforts also to the military protection of our socialist fatherland. We shall do all we can in our commitment to our people and in our international responsibility in making our contribution to the safeguarding of peace in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and the peoples in the socialist community.

Historic Inevitability and Epochal Understanding in Our Time

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Kuettler, research office head, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 814-821]

> [Text] In looking at the course of history as it really is in our era and by taking issue above all with the positivistic bourgeois conceptions of history, the following is being explored: How do laws affect history? What are the indications of that in the basic processes of our era, particularly in the struggle for peace and social progress? Why does this development not proceed in a straight line but full of contradictions and conflicts? What role is played by the subjective factor in enforcing historic inevitability?

Aesthetic Education of School Youth

[Summary of article by Dr Heinz Sallmon, lecturer, deputy director, Institute for Social Science Teaching, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 822-828]

> [Text] The aesthetic, as a component of communist education, is not confined to the encounter and occupation with art but embraces all of culture. The vital areas students are exposed to contain elements of beauty, but also of ugliness. It is the task mainly of the pedagogues to provide all children with the sense and knowledge of what to us not only in art but also in our lives and interhuman relations is beautiful or ugly, what has to be fostered and what has to be surmounted.

USA's Arms Buildup Course--A Threat to Mankind

[Summary of excerpts from "The Greatest Robbery in History," a brochure published in New York, November 1980, written by Victor Perlo, member, USCP Central Committee; pp 829-834]

> [Text] Through taking issue with the lie about the threat, this is being shown: the U.S. government has started the most dangerous arms buildup of all times. The "national defense" budget is a budget for spreading U.S. military power all over the world. The first strike threats are coming from the United States, while the Soviet Union keeps taking the initiative to end the arms race. Big business interests in dominating and profiteering are the impulses for the arms buildup which is accompanied in the United States by a reactionary offensive. The U.S. communists are rigorously fighting against that course of arms buildup.

5885
CSO: 2300/33

ACTIVITY OF 'AGERPRES' DISCUSSED BY DIRECTOR

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Jul 81 pp 15-19

[Interview with Ion Cumpanasu, director general of the Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, by Virgil Danciulescu; "Serving the Party and the People With Devotion"—date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The Romanian Press Agency, AGERPRES, has within the overall means of mass communication a specific task of great political-social responsibility of informing the public in our country and abroad through the press and radio-television about domestic and foreign policies and political, economic, social, scientific and cultural-artistic affairs in Romania, as well as disseminating in our country news from abroad. How is this task carried out?

[Answer] In speaking about this fundamental task, I feel that there is no lack of interest in stressing the fact that a single staff, the one dealing with domestic news, monthly provides an average of approximately 2,000 news items, with 500 dealing with the activities of our party and state leadership and other political, economic and cultural-scientific events, 500 dealing with subject news, including sports and approximately 1,000 news items being provided especially for radio-television within the framework of a separate bulletin.

At AGERPRES, significant reporting sources are concentrated for events in all the corners of the world. In this regard, I can mention that daily telegraph reports are received from over 50 national and international press agencies, reports that produce a volume of items of approximately 2,500 pages. The Daily Staff Buletin of Foreign News contains up to 100 items destined for the press or radio-television. These include briefs, notes, daily and subject editorials, press reviews, statements, opinions, profiles of international political figures, summaries referring to achievements in the socialist countries and in the developing nations, energy problems and so forth. Radio and television are sent news items in special forms - short news items and flashes on developing events, keeping in mind the specific requirements of this means of mass information with a broad public audience.

The agency publishes 12 periodic bulletins covering a vast subject area: international political affairs, economic problems in general and international economic trade, domestic affairs in the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movements, events in the developing nations, military affairs, technical-scientific affairs and the problems of energy and fuels. These bulletins total approximately 1,300 to 1,500 pages per month.

[Question] What is the principal content of this informative activity?

[Answer] A central place in the agency's activities is held by reflecting, through news items and reports, as well as photographs, the political events and official or working meetings and visits of the secretary general of the party and the other actions of the party and state leadership. In order to carry out this task of great responsibility under optimum conditions, which require a special effectiveness and a high professional level coupled with a thorough political training, a significant number of writers and photo-reporters are brought together and a miraculous organizational effort is made that will guarantee a proper journalistic level in the texts and pictures and the accuracy of the facts and figures mentioned in the news items and reports.

Paralleling reflecting the central political events, the agency has the significant task of presenting, through news items, summaries and reports, the manner in which the ministries, central institutes, counties, large enterprises and agricultural units implement the tasks and directives established by the party congresses and the party and state leadership in the different fields of socialist construction - industry, agriculture, construction, social-cultural activities, science and education - in the continual broadening of the workers participation in the management of the country's political and economic affairs, and in the raising of the people's material and spiritual standard of living.

[Question] One of AGERPRES's fundamental attributes is informing the public abroad about Romania's domestic and foreign policies and presenting the economic, social, political, cultural and scientific realities of the process of building socialism. By what means does the Romanian Press Agency achieve this important task?

[Answer] Through the Foreign Broadcasts Staff, the agency makes events known, as well as their meaning and significance, and transmites to foreign countries materials that reflect the progress of the Romanian economy, the continuing development of socialist democracy in our country and the complex mechanism for bringing the mass of workers together in the management of the entire society and in the improvement of the leadership of society. A significant number of items present the international activities of the party and state and their contribution to the solution of the complex problems of international affairs and to the strengthening and unification of the revolutionary, democratic, antiimperialist forces that are fighting for the cause of social progress, detente and peace.

The most effective means of reporting, especially slated for press agencies, is the radio broadcast or cable, conducted in four languages - Russian, English, French and Spanish, with a broadcast time totalling approximately 31 hours daily. These broadcasts are received by approximately 50 agencies. Similarly, we provide a telex news service for approximately 15 national agencies. For publications and

institutions abroad, as well as numerous persons who are interested in Romanian realities, AGERPRES publishes the weekly magazine ACTUALITATEA ROMANEASCA [Romanian Current Affairs] in English and French, versions of the magazine LUMEA [The World] in Russian, English, French, Spanish and German, and the magazine ROMANIA - FILE DE ISTORIE [Romanian - Pages of History] in five versions (Russian, English, French, Spanish and German). Similarly, a series of bulletins are published in six languages - Russian, English, French, Spanish, German and Arabic, on a daily, weekly and monthly basis with a total run of approximately 14,000 copies dealing with the vast problem of the internal and foreign activities of our party and state and the economic and social-cultural relations of socialist Romania.

AGERPRES publications are disseminated in approximately 100 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, the two Americas and Australia.

Placing on film the most significant events of the last 30 years, the Photo-reporting Staff maintains in its film and photograph libraries a true illustrated chronicle of socialist Romania. For that reason, there is a special responsibility for preserving and using the unique photo library of high level events, in accordance with the regulations in effect. The Staff conducts photo-reporting at official events, as well as subject reporting for the press and other users. At the same time, it maintains an exchange relationship with 80 agencies abroad, to which it monthly forwards approximately 4,000 photographs and from which it receives approximately 1,500 photos each month. The specialized staff publishes on a bi-monthly basis the photo-magazine FOTOCRONICA AGERPRES in a run of 14,000 copies.

[Question] How does AGERPRES work on the international level in the great competition for information?

[Answer] The world of international press agencies is today, as is well known, the arena of a fierce struggle. A small number of agencies are enormous, multi-national or trans-national enterprises that collect and transmit news from and to the entire world. These agencies are after not only the priority in obtaining and spreading news, but frequently exclusivity; they are concerned with sensational aspects, frequently with political scandals more than economic phenomena.

Each of the great international agencies has offices in over 100 countries and thousands of correspondents who transmit millions of words. These agencies disseminate news 24 hours per day to thousands of subscribers - national agencies, newspapers, radio and television stations - and have ultramodern means of tele-communication available, including radio transmission via communication satellites, intercontinental submarine cables and so forth.

Currently, there are national news agencies in approximately 120 countries, most for transmiting domestic and foreign news to the national press and radio-television, with some of them also disseminating news abroad about their countries.

In contrast to the large agencies, the majority of the national agencies are faced with immense difficulties: a precarious financial situation, a lack of technical means and specialists, a lack of journalists and a poor development of telecommunications in many countries. In some cases, the communications between neighboring countries still take place through the intermediary of the former mother countries. Additionally, in relation to the national income, the charges for telephone calls are exorbitant.

I wanted to give these several points on the world of press agencies since I feel they are necessary to understand the objectives, means and ways of action used by AGERPRES in order to provide, with the means available, an accurate and objective reporting in all the areas of the world and in order to allow the broadest possible penetration of information about Romanian affairs and the domestic and foreign political actions of our country.

AGERPRES maintains relations for collaboration with 72 foreign agencies, including over 66 on the basis of agreements. Among these are all the international agencies, 14 agencies in socialist countries and 34 agencies in the developing nations. AGERPRES participates as an observer in the pool of the nonalined nations' agencies and in other forms of regional press agency collaboration.

The contracts concluded with different agencies and the use of the multiplex system ensure the cable telex reception (the most rapid and certain system of telecommunications) of all the large agencies, the majority of the socialist agencies and other important agencies. Through the same channels, we ensure the dissemination of news about Romania to the main international and national agencies, as well as tele-photo reception and transmission.

[Question] Under the current conditions when, on the world information market, the great agencies frequently unilaterally or even in a distorted manner present events in different areas, what are the possibilities for AGERPRES to provide correct, truthful information and to avoid certain pitfalls sometimes presented by one agency or another?

[Answer] Practice has proven the need that in relating an important event to depend upon a number of agencies and to retain those facts confirmed from different sources. But, the most important source is the news agency in the country where the event has occurred and, for that reason, its use is a general rule for us.

The publication of news from the national agency source creates, at the same time for this moral obligation, the need to publish from the AGERPRES source news about Romania.

[Question] What are AGERPRES's concerns for improving the reporting of our central and local press and radio-television?

[Answer] The principal subject of all of our staff groups has been for a long time the broad constructive program and the themes and tasks of historical significance contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Report and in the documents and decisions of the 12th RCP Congress. The agency's workers consider it a duty of honor to do everything to present in a convincing and journalistic manner the inspired program of continuing the process of building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism, the achievements of our people in implementing this program and the actions carried out on an international level for a better and more just world.

In the area of domestic news, one constant concern is the qualitative, journalistic improvement of reporting on central events and other activities involving the party and state leadership. Taking into consideration some of the elements stemming from a comparison of similar previous events, we must be permanently open to new things, to the qualitatively special element in an event, an element that must be brought out with journalistic competence.

In the information related to the vast subject of socialist construction in our country, in addition to those subjects illustrating the continuation of development programs in industry, agriculture, housing construction and foreign trade, we insist upon the qualitatively new aspects of economic activities.

A significant concern is the presentation, in its full complexity, of the broad democracy of our society and of the growth of the participation of the masses of workers in the adoption of party and state decisions and in the management of economic-social affairs.

Naturally, we present and will present in varied forms the continuing growth of all the people's material and spiritual well-being, the supreme objective of our party's policies.

The above objective also guides the activities of the Photo-Reporting Staff, where we place a strong accent on improving the quality and variety of the pictures produced and on enrichening the photo library with the most significant achievements in socialist construction in all the counties of the country.

[Question] In our media, and sometimes even in PRESA NOASTRA, there is criticism with regards to the effectiveness of transmissions and a certain decrease in the amount of information in the country and especially photographs. Is this criticism founded? What actions are being taken to meet the increased demands of our media?

[Answer] Without rejecting the criticism regarding the effectiveness of the information provided by our agency, I must point out that in many cases the delays are caused by the need for certain additional verifications so as not to err in publishing inaccurate news items or, especially in the foreign realm, presenting confusing situations during an uncertain evolution of events.

The agency's management is concerned with the justified criticism regarding a certain decrease in the number of photographs, as well as the news reflecting the economic-social affairs of the country, and we are working to satisfy those requirements of the press.

We must say, however, that there is no great interest for subject photography at AGERPRES since most publications and especially dailies and periodicals, as well as illustrated magazines, have their own photo-reporters, and it is somewhat natural for these to publish their own materials. It happens that the photographs taken from the agency are not only not signed by their authors (normally not even by the collective group - AGERPRES), but they appear signed by the photoreporters of the respective newspaper. This also sometimes happens with some of the news items that the newspaper correspondents could not get prior to the Agency. In connection with this, more than once the news item from the agency which the newspaper does not have from its own staff is not picked up because this item bears the caveat "proxy." I said "proxy" in quotes because sometimes this informational material is also based on an agency news item.

Leaving aside these small problems, I must, nonetheless, say that our users have the right to feel dissatisfied, but I think that not so much because of the quantity of the information, but especially for its quality. We have discussed this problem with the leaderships of the newspaper staffs and radio-television and we have taken a series of measures in this direction, measures that are now being applied.

[Question] In the field of foreign political affairs, what objective does AGERPRES pursue in its reporting activities?

[Answer] In the field of reporting international affairs, through the bulletins of the foreign news staffs and informational materials, as well as through the magazine LUMEA, which is also published by AGERPRES, the principal task is to consistently reflect the dynamic, constructive policy carried out by our party and the powerful echo created by the theses and initiatives of our country's president in the most important problems of the contemporary era.

We are especially involved in the statement and support through actions of the party and state declarations on certain major ideas, such as: the need to continue the process of detente and eliminate the sources of international tensions; general disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament - a fundamental requirement of the

contemporary era; disarmament, an indispensible condition for ensuring the elimination of underdevelopment; a European security that directly involves military disengagement; the active participation of the small and medium-sized countries, a condition for democratizing international affairs; a new international economic order, the fundamental requirement for ensuring peace in the world; the new conditions of relations between the communist and workers parties; and the need for unity of the broadest democratic and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress. Certainly, the ideas listed here do not exhaust the broad subject and, at the same time, are the priorities of our foreign policy which AGERPRES must deal with in this field.

I would also like to stress that in foreign information we try to give greater attention to the economic problems of the contemporary world in order to inform the public about the new means of understanding energy consumption. We will continue to disseminate columns in our bulletins such as "The Energy Agenda," "Economic-Social Realities in the Developing Nations," "From the World of Capital" and so forth. Similarly, we are involved in reflecting the growth, even in the capitalist countries, of opposition to the mentality and practice of the consumer society.

[Question] Keeping in mind the weight of the AGERPRES's "editorial" activities, it would be appropriate to have some mention to reflect the publications' concern for providing information for foreign consumption.

[Answer] With regards to propaganda for foreign consumption, the materials will pursue the more powerful expression of the new realities of Romanian society and the outlining of its broad democracy and the new humanism of the order that is being built in Romania. We are aware that the propaganda abroad must become more active and more combative, giving in convincing forms a more significant portion to counter-propaganda.

In order to ensure an increased efficiency for this material, we will attempt to have, to a greater degree than up to now, a more differentiated approach to the subject and a more accentuated targetting according to the different categories of destinations.

In the future, perhaps that even the magazines in foreign languages, ACTUALITATEA ROMANEASCA and LUMEA, should be differentiated not only with regards to the versions by language, but also according to their destinations. And, the problem of differentiating propaganda abroad is a complex, long-term problem tied both to personnel problems and financial ones. However, we must do everything in order to advance in this direction because this serves as the basis for improving our propaganda abroad to the level and favorable conditions created by the growing prestige socialist Romania enjoys in the world, as well as its domestic and foreign policy, wisely and smartly promoted for the most noble aspirations of humanity by the president of the country, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

[Question] The reporting activities carried out by AGERPRES also require a continuing improvement of its own reporting activities. How are the "reporters" reporting? How are the relations with the public institutions designed to provide information operating? Through spokespersons? What about the network of correspondents?

[Answer] The question touches on a problem whose solution has kept us busy for a long time. Certainly, the main amount of data accumulated by those you have called "reporters" must be the results of their own, persistent and continuing efforts. In this sense, our staffs have broad possibilities available, first of all the contacts with life, with the land and with the places where special events take place worthy of being noted in the news by the agency. Therefore, we have a very broad interest and direct contact with the authors of these events. Then, they have on-hand Romanian and foreign publications, ministry bulletins, statistical bulletins and documentary publications, as well as a permanent tie with the ministries, other central institutes and large units, in accordance with the existing divisions within the staffs, with each one having a certain field in which, perhaps it is said too often, there is specialization.

To this, we must add those forms of reporting necessary to our profession, such as the press conference, speeches on situations in different fields and contacts with spokespersons in the central institutes and public organizations. In this direction, steps have been taken, but still insufficient in number, especially under the conditions where each field of activity must today be regarded through the prism of the manner in which it reflects in its achievements the requirements for a new quality, which guide the efforts of all our people.

With regards to the spokesperson, I would like to add the fact that if, after a good period when in accordance with the requirements received AGERPRES collected for use by the press so-called weekly bulletins from each ministry and central institute regarding new activities in their areas and those events worthy of being noted by the press in these fields of activities, now our people cover the path to the offices of these spokespersons in vain because, with extremely few exceptions, no one is interested in these especially useful activities. I say especially useful referring, certainly, to those that have a very serious content and not those that are simple formalities. It seems to me that there should be more energetic actions, not only through the Journalists' Council, but also through the staffs of the different publications, to get the spokespersons in the institutes involved, in accordance with the provisions of the Press Law. And, because I have mentioned the Press Law, I would like to point out the fact that if it is taken into consideration with regards to the responsibility of the staffs and the reporter in order to apply its provisions, otherwise the obligation belongs to someone else for the proper execution of press activities. I am referring first of all to the access to news sources, but, certainly, not just to this.

[Question] Reporting is an important, essential step in the formative-educational process. It requires a thorough political-professional training. What is being done to improve the reporters and editors and to strengthen their qualities as militant communists in the field of press activities?

[Answer] The constantly growing requirements of working in the agency imperatively raise the need to continually improve newspaper personnel, both in a political sense and in a professional one. I must point out that the level of exigencies in this area were continually raised. Just 5 to 6 years ago, we were satisfied if a foreign news editor knew a foreign language well. Today, nearly all know two foreign languages well and many of them know three or four foreign languages. Similarly, several years ago, we still had numerous editors who were completing their higher studies and, in some cases, barely their high school studies. Currently, of the staff personnel, 90 percent have high studies and 10 percent (in the great majority of jobs that do not require higher studies) have average educations, with nine of these workers purusing correspondence courses in journalism departments. In the ranks of the staff personnel, there are 28 graduates of post-university courses. At the same time, we can mention that over 90 percent of the staff have graduated from or are currently enrolled in higher party courses.

The staff personnel have almost all graduated from up-grade training courses. A contribution to the improvement of the political-professional level of the journalists is made by the political education groups in each staff and groups for the study and discussion of party documents after they appear, as well as specific forms for professional discussions, such as the "journalists' workshops" in the staffs.

In presenting a series of achievements in this area, we are at the same time aware that we still have much to do and that the level of training is not satisfactory for all. For the ever greater requirements made on the agency, we must provide a political and professional training at an ever higher level.

At the same time, I think that right now the accent must move to the better use of the increased knowledge gained by our workers on both a political and professional level in practical activities and in the content and variety of the materials produced.

8724
CSO: 2700/41

ACTIVITY OF PRESENTING ROMANIA ABROAD DISCUSSED

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Jul 81 pp 20-23

[Interview with George Potra, chief editor of the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff, Serban Stati and Victor Botez, secretaries responsible for editing on the Staff, by Cristina Dumitrescu; "How we are Presenting the Picture of Today's Romania to the World — date and place not specified

[Text] In the realm of Romanian journalism, the written press for foreign consumption has tasks of special importance, with a constantly richer content in direct relation to the dynamics of our international affairs and to the lively pulse of socialist Romania's current political, economic and cultural relations with the countries and peoples throughout the world.

A discussion dealing with the specific professional problems of this area of the press seemed to us to be worthy of interest so we called upon our colleagues at the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff - George Potra, the chief editor, Serban Stati, a secretary responsible for editing, and Victor Botez, another secretary responsible for editing - to give some opinions, experiences and points of view regarding the specific content of their activities.

This dialogue will be continued also at AGERPRES, where there is a powerful sector of activity dealing with informing the entire world about Romanian political, socio-economic and cultural activities, as well as at Romanian Radio-Television where there is a rich experience in the field of programs for foreign consumption.

Before turning this over to our interlocutor, we wish to succinctly note several points:

Last year, the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff celebrated its 30th anniversary of existence. Over time, the number of publications produced has increased and diversified in direct correlation with the needs of our foreign propaganda, stemming from the increase itself in socialist Romania's involvement in the field of international relations and the unequalled prestige that it has acquired in the world. This correlation is expressed, on one hand, by the increase in the number of versions and popular foreign language editions, while, on the other hand, by the increase in the number of copies. As a result of this evolutionary process, a process of transformation and permanently keeping up to

date, it publishes periodicals in six languages: French, English, German, Spanish, Chinese and Russian. One and one-half years ago, the Publications for Foreign Consumption Staff was given the task to create and publish the magazine of the National Center for Promoting Friendship with Other Peoples, the magazine VEAC NOU. This publication joins the magazines ROMANIA AZI (in English, French, German and Spanish), ROMANIA with the literary supplement BIBLIOTECA ROMANA and ORIZONTURI ROMANESTI in Russian, ROMANIA in Chinese and REVISTA ROMANA (French, English, German and Russian). Similarly, the Staff publishes the Romanian version of the magazine UNIUNEA SOVIETICA, a task that requires more than a simple technical operation, being produced by a micro-staff that deals exclusively with putting out this publication.

[Question] What is the content today of the press's foreign propaganda and how is this activity characterized in 1981 under the conditions of an unprecedented intensification of socialist Romania's relations with countries throughout the world and the growth of its role and prestige in the contemporary world?

Potra: The Ninth RCP Congress and the period that followed it saw a concern and, to an equal degree, the success of turning domestic and foreign Romanian propaganda into a coherent system that brings together directives, objectives and means. Certainly, during the years, there have been numerous statements in the program documents of the RCP, in the speeches of its secretary general and in other party and state documents related to the area of activity, the means of use and the stress that we must place on one situation or another, in one area or another. Over the course of a decade and one-half the Romanian concept of foreign propaganda has substantially improved and permits us to currently speak, through its fundamental data, of a coherent system in which the press occupies a distinct but not singular position, with the other instruments and means being associated with it.

A moment of special significance for foreign propaganda in general and for press propaganda in particular was the March 1978 adoption of the Political Executive Committee Decision regarding the development of relations of friendship and assistance, the first decision dedicated exclusively to this field and which set directions, objectives, means and responsibilities. Through this decision, specific measures were adopted regarding broadening the framework for carrying out foreign propaganda activities in the press. The increase in the means used (the appearance of certain new publications of this type), the numerous improvements that have occurred in the activities of the existing press organs (REVISTA ROMANA's monthly appearance instead of a quarterly issue, for example) and the measures to improve the content and the graphic and polygraphic conditions for the appearance of publications for foreign consumption are merely several of the specific results of this decision. Through such measures that principally involve the press, today we have more magazines, in more copies and a wider area for dissemination. We can state with complete certainty that, without having an ideal situation, we are closer to the requirements and values of our foreign policy. Certainly, we, the journalists who work in the field of international relations, always aim high at

the values of our foreign policy, unceasingly trying to get closer to these high points. We must have the most effective reflection possible and the most profound reflection of the great altitudes of the ideas expressed in the field of Romanian foreign policy and of its exemplary dynamism. For us and for the entire front of propaganda activities, this is the source to the necessity to attempt to overcome the stage of reflecting and writting down, with ourselves achieving an action which, by virtue of the fundamental guidelines of the party, will be capable of foreseeing and anticipating events through journalistic actions and methods based upon the best knowledge of international public opinion and the centers of interest on both a subject and regional level.

[Question] If we were to make a comparison between the press for domestic consumption and the press for foreign consumption, what would you note as the primary defining element, from a professional point of view, for the latter?

Botez: In differing from the domestic press where you assume that the reader knows something about the subject, is aware and has a background of information accumulated over time from diverse sources, in the press for foreign consumption the social-political theme must keep in mind the premise that the reader knows much less or even nothing about the subject. Certainly, this does not mean that each article requires an exhaustive approach. In the strategy of planning and producing articles, we keep in mind that each of our publications has dealt, over the years, with such a subject and we must also avoid a repetition that can become annoying. The main problem lies precisely in the existing distances in the spiritual topography.

[Question] Generally, in producing a publication you have in mind a certain make up of the public and there is a correlation between the type of newspaper or magazine and the category or categories of readers who are targetted. How is this correlation resolved in the case of the publications for foreign consumption?

Stati: There are some magazines (in Russian and Chinese) that address a sufficiently precise area, but for others the public is very heteroclitic with regards to age, occupation and spiritual profile. The magazine ROMANIA AZI, for example, which appears in four versions - French, German, English and Spanish - or REVISTA ROMANA - in French, English, German and Russian - is also read by the French and the French-speaking public in Africa, by Americans and by Indians, and by the Spanish and by the Cubans. The versions of these magazines are 70 percent identical and it is difficult for you to find a common area of concerns and the means of approaching subjects that will be of equal interest. There are differences in psychology, cultural formation and ideological education that we must keep in mind. We cannot rely on a regional jargon since the magazine must be conceived and produced so it interests the reader in New York and the one in Lagos.

[Question] Then how do you nonetheless find the common denominator?

Stati: I am convinced that a simple, clear expression, without the stylistic embellishments that we are still used to in the domestic press, ensures a good reception. Recently, we had meetings with readers of REVISTA ROMANA. Foreign students who are studying in Bucharest participated in the discussions, as well as cultural persons from Timisoara. One of the problems discussed was pomposity, especially in the cultural journalism. For translators, such stylistic shortcomings raise great problems. If the style is preserved in English or in German, for example, it becomes dull and the readers will reject this type of journalism. The problem of pomposity and the temptation to turn a journalistic text into a literary one constitute aspects that we are especially concerned about.

From a subject point of view, one of the essential aspects of our work is the selection process. In the domestic press, not just the specialized magazines, but also the dailies present almost everything new that happens in the different areas of activity. Our publications do not have the possibility of covering everything and the selection process becomes essential and is carried out with maximum responsibilty. Not even the reporting can be done the way it is for the domestic press. Let us take the example of a book review: you must give the reader more information about the subject of the book and about the author, beginning with the idea that what is well-known to the Romanian public can be totally unknown to the foreign public and that this book is not available to them. Similarly, the similarities and dissociations that are at play must also be carefully considered so that the reader can understand the terms of comparison. It is not very easy to achieve this, without committing the sin of using a didactic style, and this is one of the difficulties related to working with collaborators who are not always ready to modify their approach and the writing style they have become accustomed to. We must not forget, however, that the main purpose of our publications is to explain things to the foreign public: to explain our country's policies, to explain Romanian realities and to explain the principles of developing our society. To explain clearly, convincingly and soundly.

Botez: We must carry out a good propaganda for our economic, social, cultural and scientific values. Therefore, this means the existence of an axiological process and a rigorous selection that will show the entire world we are addressing (our magazines go to approximately 90 countries) the significant competitive Romanian values. In order to make them better known, we must keep in mind the regions we are addressing and the comprehensive nature of the masses of readers that are found in countries with very different cultural levels and that are of a specific spiritual nature. There is also need to find a common denominator, a vocabulary that will be accessible to all categories of readers. Along these lines what I think must be stated, however, is the need for our journalistic approach to preserve its specific brand, to let us remain ourselves. We must express ourselves according to our national spiritual nature and our means of communicating.

[Question] In what way are personnel trained and selected for this area of journalism? Can we speak of a certain specialization?

Potra: Without a doubt, the journalist of our days has a background of political and professional knowledge that is broader than his predecessors. We can find in this portrait of the 1981 journalist a series of objective factors, years and years of material efforts, organizational efforts. I am thinking about the establishment and operation of the journalism departments, certain post-graduate courses for journalists and all the editorial efforts dedicated to the political and professional improvement of the journalists. Similarly, I am thinking about the broad actions, first of all political actions and then, barely in second place, professional ones, related to the certification of journalists, and so forth. There are some very important things that we have done and which find all their corollaries and their framework for affirmation and expression in the Press Law, which incorporated these new things into a statute on the operations and responsibilities of the journalism profession.

Similarly, we must mention the importance of the decisions made by the leadership of our party regarding the disestablishment of censorship, proof of the fact that the level of the journalists' political and professional training in the Romania of our times serves in itself as the foundations for actions that no longer require an external control.

Under these conditions of a high level of political and professional training of journalists, I believe that we, nonetheless, cannot permit the mistake of accepting that a journalist can be used anywhere and in any way. I believe in specialties, I believe in specialization and I am convinced that the activities of a journalist in one area of another of the profession cannot be, should not be, determined by criteria of an administrative nature. In my opinion, in foreign affairs journalism there is need perhaps more than anywhere else for specialized journalists. And, I believe that our journalism department, in addition to all the good things that it has done over the years, should be able to also take into consideration just such a specialized training. I have in mind, for example, the thorough knowledge of at least two foreign languages so that the article can be directly written in the respective foreign languages. The expressions would be better, more exact, more accurately relate the ideas. Similarly, it is necessary to achieve a better understanding of current international relations and the phenomena, trends and processes that are taking place in the contemporary world, and, to an equal degree, of the new press techniques and changes that are taking place in this entire area represented by the mass media. We are taking part not only in the development of press techniques, but also the modification of vocabulary and the message. It is necessary for the linguistic and non-linguistic message that we disseminate to be understandable to the readers everywhere. Therefore, I believe in the need to create a specialized journalist in this field, in this specific job. More than all his colleagues, he must be a person with an

exemplary political training that is constantly kept up to date and a person with a broad intellectual horizon. I believe that we can no longer accept the idea that in this sphere of foreign propaganda beginners will be accepted. In an internal selection process that the company itself has to promote, we must arrive at a separation of values - not in an ideal situation, but in a normal situation - that will bring about the concentration of persons in the sphere of foreign propaganda journalism who have been recommended as having an exemplary awareness and professional training.

[Question] In the case of publications for foreign consumption, to what degree is there a dialogue with the readers, an essential element in the activities of the domestic press? How can you evaluate the efficient of your work?

Botez: Our public, as has been noted, is very diverse both in their geographic locations and in their axiological sensitivities. We receive several hundreds of letters each year and this correspondence is very important for us. Another index of interest is the number of copies demanded of our publications in different countries. Similarly, we have personal contacts during documentation trips made by our writers and during readers' visits in our country.

Stati: Another means of linking the content of the publications to the areas of interest of the readers is facilitated by the information and responses received via diplomatic channels. Our embassies abroad, the cultural offices and the friendship associations are such sources of special value. For example, the Romanian-Japanese Friendship Association is very active.

Botez: There are numerous proofs of the efficiency of our activities. I had the pleasure to find out, for example, that a publishing house in England and one in France decided to translate certain Romanian books after they read portions of these books in REVISTA ROMANA.

Stati: It must also be noted that in the USSR they have produced plays by Horia Lovinescu and Aurel Baranga after the appearance of certain translations in our special collection of literature published in Russian. REVISTA ROMANA, a magazine on Romanian culture and civilization, has the advantage of having a less heterogeneous public that is more specialized by region, concerns and level of education. We frequently receive information referring to the real utility of our magazine for cultural people in other countries. In order to have the best possible understanding of the values of our national spiritual nature, REVISTA ROMANIA and our social-political-cultural publications publish broad works (sometimes monographic pieces) devoted to certain persons in Romanian culture. A very good response was enjoyed by the pieces dedicated to Eminescu, Goga, Arghezi and so forth. In REVISTA ROMANA we also had some subject pieces. Those dedicated to Romanian science fiction were, for example, also very well received.

[Question] In this regard, you have therefore done more than the domestic press, where this theme is very rarely presented, a fact criticized more than once by the readers.

Stati: Remarkable successed have been recorded by REVISTA ROMANA and the other publications last year, on the anniversary of 2050 years since the creation of the first centralized and independent Dacian state and on the occasion of the International Congress of Historical Science in Bucharest. We are preparing similar special pieces this year for the International Congress on the History of Science. The effect of these monographic and subject pieces is very good. In connection with this, what we are concerned with is the permanent improvement of the manner of conceiving them so as not to attain a sameness in their construction or, in other works, a monotony.

Botez: There is a portion of our magazines, a certain vocabulary accessible to everyone: the photographs. It is a modern language that must be used very well so that its ability to convince can be decisive. This also brings up the problem of selection and of presenting the most significant illustrations that are turly relevant, from the point of view of the content and the artistic aspect. We have been involved in the development of this department of editorial work and we are happy to note that there has been some effective progress.

Potra: We should not lose sight of the fact that the publications we produce have an illustrate magazine character. This attribute takes into consideration a necessity of the modern world confronted with an ever greater amount of informational material. There is need, therefore, for concentrated expressions of a subject and of a geographic and temporal reality. No national issue destined for foreign consumption can avoid the idea that it is confronted with an extraordinary informational wealth and that it will come into competition - and it will matter in this competition - through the seriousness of the publication, through the accuracy of the message addressed in the name of a political, intellectual and national awareness, and through a journalistic expression of clear intelligence and separate attractiveness. At this level, I also place the problem of the non-linguistic message and the illustrations. In our publications, there has been a thorough modification between the proportions of the written text and the illustrations. Currently, this relationship is about 50-50 and we expect to reach a level of 60 to 65 percent illustrations, figuring that this percentage corresponds to the modern spirit of the press and that the linguistic portion will lose nothing by being concise. Perhaps, on the contrary, we could gain, eliminating any temptation to use rhetoric and the excessive amount of lyricism that we still frequently encounter. The truth is that we still are promoting a heavy, thick style that communicates more feelings and sensations than ideas. We sometimes risk killing the idea, the message of a culture, a civilization, drowning in words. I believe in the need for logical, coherent, precisely structured expressions. Before we introduce words into circulation, let us find

comprehensible concepts and let us establish connotations that are accessible to foreign readers so that our realities that suggest the specific values of the Romanian spiritual nature will not remain cryptic formulas and indecipherable hieroglyphics.

Our efforts are directed to an equal degree towards the cultivation of a precise and beautiful language and we believe that in recent times we have succeeded in overcoming in this regard an inertia accumulated over two and one-half decades. We are profoundly appreciative of the assistance we have received from the RCP Central Committee Section for Press and Radio-Television and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the professional training of our translators in England, the FRG and the USSR.

And, this action also includes the efforts we have made for credibility, accuracy and quality in our journalistic style. A publication must be of its times, this is the condition for its existence, and linkage to the pace of the present is achieved also at the level of creating a publication, the genre promoted and the style.

8724
CSO: 2700/41

ROLE OF SOCIOLOGIST IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Rumanian No 16, 20 Aug 81 pp 24-25

/Article by Adrian Dinu Rachieru: "Position of the Young Sociologist," in reference to Achim Mihu, "Values and Limits in Current Rumanian Sociology," ERA SOCIALISTA No 12, 1981/

/Text/ In a recent article Achim Mihu suggests an extensive discussion of the state and future of Rumanian sociology for purposes of enhancing its role in furthering the scientific character of social knowledge. To discuss the value and limitations of the current Rumanian sociological movement, as the Cluj sociologist does, is to abandon flights into the abstract and motivations of interest in an "ardent" discipline but one evolving in a theoretically ambiguous context. The criticisms made in the said article are unquestionably true and valid: The naivete of some studies and the failure to use or make adequate use of the available data make it impossible to draw and advance any truly sociological conclusions, since this valuable store of raw data is not organized from any theoretical-axiological viewpoint characteristic of sociology. And then, in the broad scope of problems that motivate sociological work, the research choices and priorities that are soundly substantiated coexist with socially useless research initiatives that present common knowledge in a sociological guise, some from the start and others because of inadequate and irrelevant information. Clearly such "investigations" cannot contribute to development of sociological theory, since they even retard their own scientific maturity, nor can they be applied to social programs, since their use and usefulness are very limited.

But surprisingly enough Achim Mihu's article, which was in fact the occasion for these comments, avoids discussion of the sociologists' professional status, which we consider important to the very future and effectiveness of the discipline in our intellectual life. We even believe that sociology's necessary contemplation of its own condition cannot evade or neglect discussion (pointed because of both the difficulties inherent in the discipline and those of the profession) of the status of its practitioners. Hence the urgency of the sociologists' attempt (however timid) to examine their own activity scientifically in the area where, paradoxically, sociology appears to be "losing ground" while their professional status remains ambiguous.

Let us briefly review here some other known and reported findings on sociology, with emphasis of course upon the Rumanian sociological phenomenon, revived more than 15 years ago and setting off a veritable explosion and even an inflation of sociology that have visibly compromised the great applied qualities of the "renaissance" and its rapid advance.

In the first place, as we know, there is an epistemological obstacle created by familiarization with the social universe. Exotericism accordingly becomes a disadvantage, fostering an irrational, "popular-emotional" sociology (as I. Iordachel called it), giving rise to interpretations for household use, and feeding the illusion of competence. Then we shall note the logical evolution of sociology toward consolidation of its scientific status and self-reproduction and that of professionalization, specialization and institutionalization, following the organizational pattern of "industrialism." Sociological research is accordingly in the nature of a collective undertaking, in spite of some inevitable discontinuities. Sociological knowledge is cumulative while the sociological output is intensively socialized.

In this connection let us examine the young sociologist's position more closely, bringing the analysis "down" to the actual level of his activities. But we do not mean the happy lot of those engaged in research work properly speaking, on the "teams" of institutions of higher education or sociological laboratories and research units and benefiting by proper institutional organizational structures and their results. On the contrary, the industrial (enterprise) sociologist's position is less than active, unsuitable, unintegrated and even unstable and leads to waste of the scientific potential of these graduates with a distinct, special and institutionally confirmed training, because of his solitary, isolated, still unaccustomed and sometimes perfunctory presence in such jobs, where he is used for other purposes or assimilated with other personnel. And practical activity is decisive in the exercise of the profession and the "social recognition" of this category (handicapped by failure to solve the problem of professional status), since it combines the personal aspirations and standards, the desire to advance and the dynamism of those who can strengthen or diminish the very presence and effectiveness of sociology by virtue of their actual position and role, regardless of the level on which it is performed.

But we shall not ignore or minimize the difficulties experienced in the activity of these professionals. We refer particularly to the system of training, and coordination of training and familiarization with the actual future demands, which are not actually known until after assignment. The idea, also mentioned in VIITORUL SOCIAL (1), of founding a methodological center for guidance and improvement is also noteworthy, since it provides "methodological aid" and facilitates continuing professional improvement of all these specialists, whose postuniversity training (excepting, of course, those who make diligent personal efforts or those belonging to research institutes) is not the subject of regular, centralized efforts, so that an undesirable and harmful fragmentation of the "forces" is perpetuated.

But under enterprise conditions the traditional attitude of "production fetishism" favors separation of production tasks from psychosocial ones, the relationship between them being one of subordination rather than interdependence. Therefore some decision making collectives will be short of psychosociological training and information, not going beyond the finding stage or contemplative approach, perhaps requesting the collaboration and help of these specialists but not using their completed investigations to prepare the alternatives ("counciling" the decision making activity itself). And so Achim Mihu is right again in noting that the interest taken in malfunctions is confined to the "behavior indicators" and economic discipline, adopting the organizational viewpoint but overlooking the aspects of the very broad field of sociohuman problems, so that the implemented decisions and suggestions, when they are out of touch with the state of the social relations, inevitably lack lasting effectiveness.

The presence of a sociologist in a socioeconomic organization is advisable but not indispensable, since his strictly or narrowly professional contribution alone is not required. On behalf of rationalization and scientific substantiation of all activities (including public-cultural ones, circulation of information and political-educational work), his efforts will be required for crystallization and diffusion of the new culture of participation with an eye to actual dissemination of the principles of collective management. But one point must be made: Since he is either secretary of the workers council (as he is in some enterprises) or he is organizationally attached to it and not dependent upon other operational sections or even affiliated with them (being engaged in many other activities, entailing the risk of deprofessionalization), the young sociologist is involved in this regular participation in the activity of the unit but he does not have any cogent experience.

The real and critical question in connection with the grouping of sociohuman disciplines as "sciences of intervention" is whether their involvement in a detailed pragmatism does not undermine the very position of these professionals as "scientific agents." By emphasizing the pragmatic-engineering function and devoting himself solely to the applied function, the sociologist-technician ultimately "cripples" his personality. Neither his purely theoretical position, where he is solely concerned with academic study and pedantries, nor the other extreme, where he on the course of hyperempiricism (as a "supplier of data") and uninterested in the consequences of his suggestions, is acceptable. Moreover this contrast between the theoretical sociologist (cultivating an armchair sociology) and the one interested in "social engineering" (sacrificing macrosociological perspective in his empirical outlook) accentuates characteristics of overspecialization conducive to a luxuriant development of "sciences." But in the case of sociology, self-restriction of the field of vision by "seclusion in a specialty" and exaggeration of the perceptive value of the raw data (inaugurating a "sociological naturalism," as Alain Touraine says) eclipses the very viewpoint of sociology properly speaking, as A. Roth remarked (2).

To be sure sociology has become a profession and the sociologist has become a specialist, while the process of differentiation and specialization (dealing with "slices" of social existence) is to be accepted, but not by virtue of an excessive intensification ignoring the integralist epistemological effort (a consequence of the "adventure" of the analytical spirit and "elimination of contacts," of isolation in the tight compartment of one's own competence, and of truths "excavated" from the plot of a specialization actually eclipsed by "tunnel vision"). Dispersion of disciplines can even be a rejection or negation of knowledge, since as Mario Bunge noted scientific progress means a gain in complete understanding of entireties. Let us acknowledge that the constantly invoked desideratum of the interdisciplinary approach has barely arrived, with actual results that are rather modest (meaning additions of disciplines and not their correlation), while the sociological coordinating "treatment" is still understood, regrettably and harmfully, not in a methodological sense but in an administrative one.

But by means of competence sociological investigations and interventions may become effective (accepting the "restrained optimism" to which Robert K. Merton called attention), by a combined effort to enhance the means and to determine the limits. "Realistic expectations" are recommended to both the sociologist and the beneficiary, underestimates and exaggerations being equally unacceptable.

When the sociologist develops as a cultural personality and the organization develops as an integrating structure conducive to initiatives and activism, the requirement

for detailed comprehensiveness in cultural achievement can be met in and through an organization. But naturally the personality of the sociologist as a communist intellectual is developed and revealed in his activity, the action expressing the objective, applied acculturation. In dwelling on this point we may even wonder whether such a personality is adequately determined by the intellectual values it conveys by assimilating and "producing" knowledge. In displaying an enthusiastic and dedicated spirit, using his powers of social expression, and being receptive to all sociohuman problems, the sociologist will be intimately concerned with developing not only his scientific-sociological consciousness but also his moral-political one, related in our ebullient era to what Eduard Shills called "the incipient formation of a world sociological culture." Then his "creative" potential itself and, more broadly, the creative phenomenon in sociology supports and necessitates some qualifications. It is clear the sociological front will repudiate those exercises (actually gratuitous but socially harmful), "rediscovering" commonplaces (not above the level of common knowledge), just as it is clear that it must be found that in view of the said cumulative nature of sociological knowledge the cognitive ideal will not be to construct entirely original sociological systems but to amplify the conceptualized, widely applicable and mutually controllable disciplines. There is a differential creative productivity of age groups, while future creativity is known to be difficult to predict. Development of the "creative man" and democratization of creativity (as a mass social process during construction of our new society), however, are not a matter of absolute originality but of releasing the nonconformist intelligence by abandoning the stereotypes of thought and nonparticipation. The young sociologist (a questionable term if it implies a value judgment, but we consider it useful in the discussion in view of the age of those who are active) may become, through a pseudocreativity and through the inauguration of self-sufficiency, a routine practitioner divorced from research, the causality not being necessarily or invariably external. Therefore he will try to avoid such restrictions by fully adjusting to the flexibility of the period and the intellectual flexibility of the discipline and determining the role and position of sociology in the contemporary context.

A final comment on the critical purpose and predisposition of the sociological procedures, which are obscured in some studies. We refer not to criticism within sociology (regarded by R. Boudon for example as a possible standard orientation detectable in a "pure" state) but to the critical function of sociology (as society's scientific knowledge of itself). As part of a culture sociology may also have a mystifying use, serving the status quo and fortifying the establishment, and the realities of "late" capitalism unequivocally confirm the conclusion. But as a reflex action it will also foster the structuring of critical trends of a disconcerting variety and varying widely in their capacity for radicalism. At any rate the idea of a critical sociology (performing the criticism of apologetic, "integrated" sociology but not proposing any coherent theoretical system) is an incomplete criticism that will not generate any political activity. A questioning and prospective science par excellence, sociology is impracticable if it minimizes practical-critical activity and substitutes critical action through theoretical criticism (the case of the pretentious reflective sociology known as "critical").

We do not think the critical function of sociology (also operative in a socialist context, involving management through rationalization by realizing the applicative potentials on the tactical or strategic level) can be reduced to the claims or disabilities of "critical sociology," and for the same reason we cannot accept criticism (sociological) as one of the aims of sociology alongside the others. Actually an active, effective sociology as a science "of position" regards its critical aspect as a model of its applicative, comprehensive-interrogative and predictive procedures.

Benefiting by the fine tradition of the Romanian sociological movement in the period between the wars, Romanian sociology will test its twofold function (theoretical and applicative) as Romanian society inevitably presents many original problems requiring specific, systematic and complete treatment in the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary spirit, avoiding illustrativism, empiricism and evasion of contradictions. As a uniform whole (theoretical and empirical) offering a global, historical and determinist view of the social whole and its developmental trends and naturally passing through the period of diversification and institutionalization of its studies and of specialization and professionalization of its exponents, Romanian sociology (as I. Dragan noted) is still mainly descriptive and demonstrative, not going beyond the desiderative aspect of the conclusions and producing rather modest results with a low coefficient of applicability.

And if the superiority of socialism is to be not only asserted but demonstrated by facts and realities, as Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out so many times, sociology (as society's scientific knowledge of itself) can meet this high obligation by activating its critical and self-critical function.

FOOTNOTES

1. Florian Popa-Micsan, "The Sociologist's Practical Activity in the Socioeconomic Organizations," VIITORUL SOCIAL, No 3, 1978, pp 573-577.

2. Andrei Roth, "Toward a Sociology of Sociology," Dacia Publishing House, 1975, p 186.

5186
CSO: 2700/45

LEGAL ASPECTS OF ORGAN TRANSPLANT PROCESS EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Jul 91 pp 13-18

[Article by Ioan Chelaru, attorney, BCAJ Roman]

[Text] Within the framework of non-property personal rights, one category of rights for which the law provides special protection, is the one associated with a person's existence and physical integrity. That is why as a rule, a medical treatment, an operation, and so on, can be performed only with the consent of the person involved, except in cases in which the law expressely stipulates the compulsory nature of the treatment. Added to this is the fact that the right to dispose of a human body after death is recognized by regulations in force, except in cases in which for reasons of public order or health, another measure can be imposed by justice, district attorney, or administrative organs.

A few years ago, the legal literature (1) pointed out the absence of a legal provision intended to regulate the removal and transplantation of human organs.

In 1978, the adoption of Law No 3, regarding the assurance of the population's health (2), which in chapter V, section 2, regulates "Blood, Plasma, and Blood Derivatives Therapy. Removal of Human Organs and Tissues," responded to a need that had become obvious.

It must be emphasized that this regulation sought to contribute to the development of a new therapy "for the good of man, using death to save lives," (3) based on humanistic ethical and legal principles.

It is particularly well known that any action which causes the removal of organs from the human body, severely and directly affects man's life and physical integrity, a circumstance which constitutes an infraction and is sanctioned as such (4). At the same time, the point is made that a doctor's major concern must be the protection of health and the safeguarding of life, that a doctor must have the confidence of the patient, and that this trust is a major element in assuming responsibility, even though an organ transplant imposes itself as a supreme act of man's gift to man, an action on the part of man, who despite his inalienable rights upon his body, is a member of society and can thereby be of service to his fellow man, but under the conditions of a "healthy and reasonable" generosity.

The problems raised by the practice of organ removal and transplantation assume greater proportions every day, furthered as they are by the development of medical technology. In the present paper, we propose to respond to some of the questions raised both by the medical and legal literatures, as well as by the inadequacy of current regulations. In this respect, we propose to analyze the manner in which two persons--the donor and the recipient--can dispose of their rights, and determine which medical and state agencies are entitled to approve, perform, and control such operations.

Manner in Which Donor and Recipient can Dispose of Their Own Rights

A distinction must first be made of whether we are concerned with a temporary effect on the body's integrity (sale of hair, or blood donation), or with an irreversible effect (donation of a kidney). It must also be noted whether we are concerned with actions which produce their effects among living persons or after death, as well as whether the actions are paid or free. Moreover, we must present the need for consent as an essential condition, as well as the legal value of this consent (5).

Within its two paragraphs, article 131 of Law No 3/1978 makes two important stipulations, to wit: that "the removal of human organs as well as the transplantation of human tissues and organs can be performed for therapeutic purposes under the conditions of the present law" (paragraph 1); and that such operations "cannot be the object of any transaction" (paragraph 2).

In the text of our law, the removal of human tissues and organs falls under special regulations, depending on whether it concerns acts among living persons or acts resulting from death. For instance, article 132 of the law stipulates that "the removal of tissues and organs from living persons is performed only if no danger exists to the donor's life, and with the latter's written consent given to the head doctor of the department of the health unit in which the donor is admitted, in the presence of two witnesses." The legislators thus introduce two cumulative conditions which must be fulfilled in order for the removal to be performed.

The first condition--that no danger exist to the donor's life--is considered to have a relative value (6) since there does exist an inherent risk, a degree of uncertainty, associated with any surgical intervention. The manner in which the doctor acts, the importance of his actions, and the doctor's social responsibility, ultimately depend on the training and conscience of his professional group, and rigid restrictions on the manner of action would represent a barrier in the path of new advances in medical science. In paragraph 2 of article 132, Law No 3/1978 provides that "the donor's consent can be given only after the doctor has informed him of eventual medical risks that can be incurred from the act of removal." The legislators themselves, thus recognize the existence of a risk. Under such conditions, sufficient opinions have supported the inadmissibility of the transfer of some organs among living persons (7), or the possibility of donating only tissues but not organs for transplants (8).

But because, as Rabindranat Tagore has said, "life is a gift which we deserve only when we give it," and because under equitable socio-human conditions, a refusal to donate a tissue or organ is subject to ethical implications, it can happen that a

parent will donate a kidney or an eye to his child, when the possibility exists of saving the child's life. We believe that such an act springs from, and corresponds to, the principles of socialist humanism. On the other hand, if it becomes a matter of single organs--whose removal would result in the donor's demise--the law implicitly forbids such operations through actions among living persons.

The second condition--that the donor give a written consent under special circumstances--also leads to a number of explanations. From its formulation, it would appear that the legislators sought to grant the respective action the character of an authentic act. We are basing our opinion on the fact that the law expressly demands a written consent, which must be given to a specially empowered agency and in the presence of two witnesses. This special authentic act, unlike the usual regulation in civil law regarding the irrevocability of acts performed for free, can be revoked, since the donor can withdraw his given consent after the doctor presents the existing risks. It should be stressed that the law does not contain detailed provisions about the manner in which the established conditions are to be entered into a document, and that the same agency is authorized to receive the consent of both the donor and recipient.

Pursuing the general policy of protecting minors and adult persons incapable of judgement, in article 133 the legislators forbid the removal of organs from such persons, as well as from persons who suffer from various diseases established by the Ministry of Health.

The law contains separate regulations regarding the removal of human organs and tissues from dead persons. Article 134, paragraph 1, stipulates that "the removal of tissues and organs from dead persons is performed only if biological death has been medically confirmed. In this case, the removal of tissues and organs from dead persons can be performed only with the written approval of one of the adult family members, in the following order: spouse, parent, child, brother, or sister." This specific provision would reopen the question--widely analyzed in the specialized literature--of establishing the moment of death of the donor. Even though no unanimity of opinion currently exists on this matter at present (9), we will not delve on it in this paper. We will however point out that the doctor must exhaust all known medical means to maintain the life of the person, and that only after this has been done "the death must be confirmed by two doctors--members of the commission (formed for the organ removal and transplant, n.b.)--and by a forensic expert, with the conclusions being entered in an official report," as stipulated in article 137, last paragraph, of the law.

In fact, this provision correlates with the one in Decree No 278/1960, which stipulates that "the recording of a death is to be based on the document issued by the doctor."

It would appear that the extensive discussion being conducted in the specialized literature will continue, partly because of the tendency to attend to serious cases through the transplantation of organs which should not be impaired, and partly because of the urgency of matters and of the responsibility assumed by doctors (10). For organ removal, the legislators also require other circumstances in addition to medical confirmation of biological death. For instance, "this operation is forbidden if the deceased has expressed in writing the wish that such a removal not be performed, or when the removal would impair a medico-legal autopsy." (Article 135 of Law No 3/1978).

In the absence of an express, written interdiction on the part of the deceased, the operation is possible in accordance with the law (article 134, paragraph 1), only with the written consent of adult family members, in the following order: spouse, parent, child, brother or sister (11). As distinct from transplantation, removal is thus not possible without the consent of one family member, in the order stipulated by the law. We believe that this provision unfortunately creates a serious obstacle in terms of existing urgencies, a reason for which some questions become necessary. To which family members does the law refer: all those who are living, or only those who are present? What happens when members of the family with equal levels of kinship have different opinions? Or when, for illegal purposes, the first of those who must grant approval does not give it, with all the other members of family being in agreement? The regulations formulated to apply the law must clarify these situations as fairly as possible.

Legal aspects concern both the donor, who as we have indicated can undergo moral or physical harm, and the recipient, for whom a risk has been created. In terms of legal rights, matters of almost equal interest are the condition of the recipient, the group of persons who can donate organs, the legality of their consents, the moment of removal, and so on.

These intimate interconnections bring into discussion, a fortiori, the need to establish interest priorities which can form the foundation of the legal regulations that we are analyzing here.

In our society, only one solution appears possible, which is that the donor's interests be predominant. In fact, it should be pointed out from the beginning that the legislators envisage transplantation as a measure of last resort, making it acceptable "only if it is the sole intervention capable of saving the health or the physical integrity of the recipient" (article 136, paragraph 1). This feature is also emphasized by the different regulations covering removal and transplantation. For instance, removals are permissible "if no danger exists to the donor's life," while in the case of transplants, the doctor's only obligation is to inform the recipient about existing risks. In this respect, an analysis must also be made of the second condition required by the law, "the written consent of the donor, given in the presence of the head doctor of the department in which the donor is admitted, and of two witnesses." In this light, we ask what is the legal value of this consent, and how final is it?

That is why the patient has the obvious right, weighted by the ethic-pshychologic obligation of being informed of the risk to which he is exposed, so that "the transplant cannot be performed without his written consent." There undoubtedly exist persons who in such a situation would refuse a transplant, but in most cases, those finding themselves in conditions of last resort have no other choice. In this light, the wish expressed by a recipient appears as irrelevant. And still in this light, it can be readily observed that the declared consent of the donor is free and altruistic in all respects, whereas that of the recipient is given under special conditions, in which "choice" implies only one possibility. This reasoning reopens the question of the need for a written consent from family members--in the same order of priority--when the recipient is incapable of expressing his own will. This consent would have the character encountered in special legal trusteeships (12).

But what will be the attitude of the doctor who finds his efforts to perform a lifesaving transplant, stymied by opposition from family members, who for irrational or dishonest reasons refuse to give their consent, and who consequently prevent him from saving the patient's life?

The law also provides that for persons placed under interdiction, consent can be given by their parents or other legal protectors.

The exceptional, serious, and urgent nature of a transplant situation has caused legislators to also foresee the possibility--frequent enough, in fact--that the consent of the recipient or members of his family is no longer necessary, if "steps cannot be taken in proper time," but only in cases where "delays would inevitably lead to the loss of the recipient's life." The action is recorded in a document by the chief doctor of the department, and by two witnesses.

We believe that the witnesses should be specialized medical personnel, given the knowledge that is needed to determine the probability that the patient will die.

Authorized Medical Organs Will Approve, Perform, and Supervise the Removal and Transplant of Human Organs

Article 137 of Law No 3/1978 stipulates: "The removal and transplantation of human organs and tissues is performed only by doctors, and only in hospitals authorized by the Ministry of Health. The need for removal and transplantation, as well as approval for their performance, will be given by commissions specially formed by the hospital's management.

Biologic death is confirmed by at least two doctors in this commission, with the participation of a forensic expert."

These measures reflect the concept of legislators, which is to assure a maximum of guarantees for maintaining the physical integrity of those involved, and free will, and while providing appropriate medical care. The conditions that are imposed reflect on one hand the exceptional nature of these operations, and the fact that the number of units in which they can be performed is limited, and on the other hand, a certain level of endowment in medical technology at the current stage of our country.

From a legal standpoint, however, it must be emphasized that the intervention must have a therapeutic, exclusively humanitarian purpose, followed by a scientific one, that the tissue or organ must be donated, not sold, and that the action must have clear probabilities of success (is not rash).

Law No 3/1978 contains no provisions regarding relationships between donors and recipients. Since the operations are performed in hospitals established by the Ministry of Health and authorized by special commissions, under some conditions of consent of the parties, it is possible for no kind of relationship to exist between the two persons. In the absence of a special restrictive provision, we believe that nothing prevents the removal of organs of living persons or from the dead, to be performed intuitu personae.

But the transplantation of human organs also raises other problems, which will certainly be solved by the regulations which we hope will be issued for applying the law. Should the removal of an organ from a healthy person be allowed, even though it is known that its transplantation will prolong the recipient's life by only a few months or years? How will the recipient be chosen when several patients could benefit from the transplant, but when only one, or very few donors are available? Who will receive priority, a child, or an adult? Who has the right to make the choice? To what extent is the doctor entitled to select between the risk to which the donor is subjected, and the value of the recipient's life (13)?

Regarding the declared consent of the person who is to undergo the organ removal, article 135 of Law No 3/1978 stipulates that the removal is forbidden if the deceased person expressed "in writing the wish that such removals not be performed." The consequence therefore, is that in the absence of such a manifestation of will, silence is considered as consent.

In most cases, the donor's consent can no longer be obtained, with the doctors having no other task than to confirm the biological death. In this situation, article 134 of the law stipulates imperatively that "removal can be performed with the written consent of one of the adult family members, in the following order: spouse, parent, child, brother, sister."

One important problem of interest, is that of the persons who can fall under the law regarding the removal and transplantation of human organs. Article 125 in chapter V, which refers to "Medical Assistance for the Population," section I, regarding "General and Emergency Medical Assistance," stipulates: "Emergency medical assistance is provided by all permanent health units, at any time of day or night, independently of the person's place of residence." At no point does this chapter make any sort of distinction among persons who are entitled to medical assistance, including transplants and the removal of human organs. The only exception provided by the law is for minors and for those incapable of judgement. Thus, any person, independently of nationality, race, or sex, benefits from equal medical assistance treatment. For reasons of egality, the legislators have therefore adopted the application of territorial law (14).

This reopens the discussion of some aspects of the complex question of human organ removal and transplantation. Insofar as many other legal aspects still remain to be clarified, we belive that both OMS and the UN could initiate a number of measures aimed at helping the nations which practice such operations, to elucidate and understand some facets of this complex matter.

FOOTNOTES

1. I. Dobrinescu, "Legal Problems Regarding Surgical Grafts Through Organ Transplants," REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT, No 12/1974, p. 14. "According to some authors, the state legal agencies can provide no given rule or method whatever to doctors, in the case of organ removals" (H. P. Schudi, "The Doctor's Responsibility," REVUE DE MEDICINE ET HYGIENE, No 797/1967, Geneve, p 1112).

2. BULETINUL OFICIAL, I, No 54, 10 July 1978.

3. Gh. Scripcaru, T. Ciornea, and N. Iancovici, "Medicine and the Law," Editura Junimea, Iasi, 1979, p 55.

4. See article 180 and following, C. pen.

5. P. P. Andrei, "Removals and Transplants of Human Organs in the Light of the New Provisions," "Annals of the Al. I. Cuza University, Iasi," "Legal Sciences" series, 1979, p 45; G. Marty, P. Raynaud, "Civil Law," Vol 1, "General Introduction to the Study of Law and Judicial Institutions. Persons," Paris, 1961, p 484.

6. P. P. Andrei, loc. cit., p 46; G. Marty, P. Raynaud, op. cit., p 484.

7. In this respect, see G. Marty, P. Raynaud, op. cit. p 484; H., L., J. Mazeaud, "Lessons of Civil Law," tome one, "Persons," Paris, 1972, pp 681-682.

8. Gh. Scripcaru et al., op. cit., p 55.

9. In this respect, see I. Dobrinescu, loc. cit., p 16; M. Stoian, "The War for the Heart," Editura Enciclopedica, Bucharest, 1971, pp 143-147; L. M. Raymondis, "Legal Problem of a Definition of Death in Connection With Organ Grafts," REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE DE DROIT CIVIL, 1969, pp 29-39.

10. L. M. Raymondis, loc. cit., pp 29-39.

11. In this respect, see D. Laiusell, "The Procurement of Organs for Transplantation," NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW, No 5/1969, pp 607-627. In general, instances of common law, both in England and the United States, starting from the older concept according to which no property right exists on a dead body, the latter being res nullius, nevertheless recognize that a surviving spouse, children, or other next of kin, have a right to the cadaver for burial, a right which also implies the one of receiving the body of the deceased in the condition in which it was at the moment of death. In France, the Caillavet Law of 4 April 1978 regarding the removal of organs, does not contain this condition, if the removal is likely to extend the life of another person.

12. P. Andrei, loc. cit., p 46.

13. T. Burghele, review in "Ethics in Medical Progress," CHIRURGIA, No 1/1968, p 20. This advanced surgery is not yet fully developed, representing in some aspects an experiment on man.

    For a study of comparative law, see the draft for "Law on Human Organ Transplantation," of FRG (R. Sturm, "Government Draft for the Transplantation Law," in JURISTENZEITUNG, No 21/1979, pp 697-702; Th. Cartens, "Organ Transplants," ZEITSCHRIFT FUR RECHTSPOLITIK, No 11/1979, pp 282-284). The draft mentioned here tends to regulate only the removal of human tissues and organs, and not transplantation as well; in another respect, it refers only to the removal of tissues and organs from dead persons, and not from those alive

as well. As in the Romanian law, two principles stand at the basis of the regulation: a) the principle of respecting the right to dispose of one's own person, even after death, as an expression of the freedom of, and respect for human beings; and b) the general social interest presented by the performance of these removal and transplantation operations.

14. M. Jacota, "Private International Law," Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, Bucharest, 1970, pp 161 162.

11,023
CSO:2700/30

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS FROM IVAN STAMBOLIC INTERVIEW

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 81 SEDAM DANA Supplement pp 4-5

[Interview with Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, by Seska Stanojlovic: "Our Inflation Is Our Product"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] [Question] During the debate of the causes and consequences of the counterrevolution in Kosovo at the May Plenum of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee you spoke inter alia about the adverse political consequences of arbitrarily giving other names to SR Serbia and to its nuclear part particularly. By force of circumstances we newspaper people, and also you politicians, and indeed you personally frequently use the terms "Serbia proper," "Serbia without the provinces," "Serbia outside the provinces" ... which you yourself say contribute to the public's confusion....

[Answer] It is not just from the terminological standpoint that these expressions are unfitting. I would remind you, however, that this issue has another more important side.

In their time Svetozar Markovic and Dimitrije Tucovic settled accounts with Garasanin's 19th century idea of Great Serbia. But it has been repeated many times since then, the working class movement in Serbia has had to settle accounts with it down through virtually its entire history.

The attitude of Serbian communists toward this nationalistic and hegemonistic thesis and idea has always been clearly defined and confirmed by their successful concrete revolutionary struggle and policy. That kind of struggle and that kind of attitude are indispensable even today. Especially since we must be aware that the idea of the so-called small Serbia, of a Serbia which does not exist, of Serbia in the form of the Belgrade pashaluk [district under jurisdiction of a pasha] whose boundaries and map are being tendentiously drawn and printed by nationalists and enemies not only of the Serbian people and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but indeed of all the other nationalities and ethnic minorities in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, finds its point of support in the idea of Great Serbia. They want in that way to demonstrate that there is not even any SR Serbia without Great Serbia. This is the soil on which the thesis arises which Lazar Koliševski recently spoke about: "A weak Serbia--a strong Yugoslavia."

We must say that only a unified SR Serbia, as a socialist republic born in the revolution, that is unified and strong in conformity with the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Tito's policy of equality, brotherhood and unity, and self-management, and only the unified and strong republics, which also arose in the revolution, of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia and the autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina comprise a strong and powerful Yugoslavia as a workers' state, as a free and independent socialist and nonaligned community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities. Weakening of any one of them, including Serbia, which includes the autonomous provinces, signifies a weakening and destabilization of Yugoslavia.

That is why I think that calling SR Serbia by various names is not an ordinary question of language.

[Question] Since you are the chairman of the executive council, we must ask you something about the relationship between the state and self-management. In recent debates on stabilization there has been more and more (critical) talk about administrative intervention and the "meddling" of the government in the relations of self-management. You often advocate constructing a comprehensive policy of economic stabilization, and it would be interesting to hear your opinion about the degree of "government" involvement in that.

[Answer] Let me first tell you something about that concept of stabilization. There is not a man in Yugoslavia today who does not feel the burden of the economic situation on his own back. Some more, some less, but that is another topic. For that reason we are now coming to an increasingly correct understanding of the policy of economic stabilization, seeing it as a necessity for us to produce more and spend less. We had broken the natural tie between production and consumption, and now we must pay for that--in cash. No one can fall head first down the stairs without any consequences whatsoever for his own head!

In building the policy of economic stabilization and in implementing it so far we have mainly concentrated on suppressing excessive spending and have been less concerned with more efficient production, and I fear lest we again fail to bring production and consumption into line with one another in good time--only now in a different way. That is why I mention so frequently the need for a more organized effort to construct a comprehensive concept and program of economic stabilization, referring thereby primarily to production.

My point of departure is that we possess the material conditions for overcoming our economic difficulties and for opening up real prospects for further material development. I am therefore convinced that the principal issue in the policy of economic stabilization of the future is becoming how to raise labor productivity, how to speed up the turnover of capital, how to reduce the level of indebtedness, how to lower production costs, how to increase the efficiency of capital investment, and so on. How to open up ourselves more actively toward the outside world more effectively and how to expose ourselves to the judgment of the world market, how to overcome difficulties and restrictions related to the balance of payments? It would seem that we all know what we ought to do, but the question is--How?

Neither administrative regulation on the one hand nor the so-called free market on the other represents one of our choices in finding a way out of the economic difficulties we have fallen into. We must seek the way out through development of socialist self-management--by conclusion of compacts and accords--but that does not mean that now we should turn our head away from the market and renounce the government. If the government does not do everything now which it must do, the day might come when it could take everything into its hands.

In other words, the conclusion of social compacts and self-management accords must proceed on the basis of objective economic laws of commodity production on the foundations of self-management, while by virtue of its measures the government would guarantee and stimulate that direction in the development of socio-economic relations. Only in that way is it possible to guarantee both democracy and efficiency in a self-managed economy, above all through optimum use of the huge mass of social capital.

Ambiguous Slogan

[Question] You mean to say that a self-managing government also has quite definite obligations toward "its own" self-management?

[Answer] Exactly. To that we should add that there also exist certain social contradictions which can be resolved only by "government methods." That was the case earlier, it is true today, and it will also be true tomorrow. Certain social contradictions, and indeed even social conflicts, if you like, must and can be resolved only by the means of socialist government coercion.

To overlook that fact in the present world and time is the same, to put it simply, as if the police, for example, use no other means than to deliver sermons on how theft is not permitted by law.

[Question] At the same time demands for "freeing us of statism," whose correctness and progressiveness are truly difficult to dispute, are echoing ever more loudly in the public. What does this mean in concrete terms in the context of the questions we have spoken about so far, especially in the case of SR Serbia, where it also arises as a question of the scope and role of the statehood of the republic and the provinces?

[Answer] Let me answer by asking another question: Who actually are all these people advocating liberation from statism? This demand, just like that general slogan of "Anticentralism," is both undefined and ambiguous. I would remind you that Dr Vladimir Bakaric even pointed out on one occasion that such demands in certain situations may be reactionary instead of progressive.

That is, who is it who is to be freed of government control? If it is the working class, if it is a question of liberating space for self-management, then the question is not in dispute. But if the bureaucratic-technocratic apparatus, whether it be the one in the republic, in the province, in the opstina, in the bank, or indeed even in the organization of associated labor, is supposed to get freedom to manage the surplus value as it pleases, then that demand, as Dr Bakaric has said, is essentially reactionary.

[Question] For decades our social development has been going in the direction of gradual decentralization of what are referred to as government functions so as to broaden the degree of democracy and to augment the rights of citizens and self-managers. Do the debates of the role of so-called regional statehood also signify that that statehood is greater or smaller than it should be?

[Answer] I could answer you most simply by saying that in some respects it should be greater and in some smaller. But that does not signify a great deal. If statehood in our context--in proportion to the place in government regulation and in conformity with social development--is "divided" among the Federation, the republics (which comprise the Federation), the provinces (which are also an integral part of one republic) and the opstinas, then there is no need for debate of the "greater" or "lesser" responsibility of any of these entities.

There are functions which could not be transferred to the opstinas; there are those which represent the very identity of the Federation as a government. Take any opstina, say in Vojvodina or in Kosovo: its statehood is manifested in the scope of definite power which the opstina wields. The scope of power is "divided" between it and its parent province in such a way that its statehood is an integral part of the statehood of the province. And the statehood of the autonomous provinces is in turn manifested in the scope of their power and is regulated by the "division" of power between the republic and autonomous provinces on the basis of the Constitution of SR Serbia. The statehood of the autonomous provinces is an integral part of the statehood of the republic--they are not states which are components of the Federation, but they do have their own statehood--as a function of realizing socialist self-management. Is there any need to recall by way of illustration all the damage inflicted and the extent of the impetus given to the counterrevolution in Kosovo by assumption of a greater degree of statehood than set forth in the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of SR Serbia?

[Question] We all know that in Yugoslavia there is no equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities without economic equality. We also know that there is no true community consensus on the basis of self-management without corresponding economic community consensus. Nevertheless, there is less and less community consensus, there is more and more autarky, and the economy is gradually becoming confined within "government boundaries" of the opstinas, the republics and the provinces.

[Answer] Since the pluralism of self-management interests presupposes a development of political relations whereby they are more and more transformed into socioeconomic relations, I am afraid that we have not always been aware of all the kinds of political relations that could come about if there should be less and less economic community consensus in Yugoslavia. Autarky seriously threatens to cut off social development in the direction of pluralism of self-management interests and to turn us exclusively toward pluralism of governmentalized interests. That is why I think that it is not possible to simultaneously be in favor of Yugoslavia's political unity and the foundations of socialist self-management and to be against economic community consensus in the self-managing forms of pooling labor and capital and to be in favor of autarky.

In analyzing the problems of autarky we must now become all-embracing and must altogether seek answers which will guarantee a rapid change of direction. I would also say that even individuals who are well known as advocates of dogmatic and other ideological premises unacceptable to us are now trying to join in our justified criticism of autarky and the low level of the economy's integration in Yugoslav economic space--as well as of the other problems that are arising out of the halt in development of self-management.

Two Conclusions Concerning Inflation

[Question] You mean to say that even here we are coming to have unwanted "allies"?

[Answer] Yes. Individuals who criticize the Yugoslav economy's lack of integration from the positions of statism, unitarianism and the policy of a firm hand would like to join in our justified criticism of the lag in integration on the basis of self-management.

Since we have permanently rejected administrative-bureaucratic centralism, our criticism of the closed economies of the republics and provinces and of the regionalization of capital is based on the positions of socialist self-management, of self-managing pooling of labor and capital. That is why we must constantly set ourselves apart and wage an ideological showdown with all those who see the republics and provinces only as obstacles to self-management integration, and not as an instrument of self-management, people who through criticism of autarky would even call into question the very existence of the republics and autonomous provinces.

We must, then, vigorously reject all the more or less pronounced and truly bureaucratic-centralistic and similar conceptions being passed off on us as the right solutions, the only solutions, and indeed even the self-management solutions. That is why we must emphasize more and more that outside the foundations of the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav Federation, outside the foundations of the constitutional concept of the republics and provinces, and aside from the clearly articulated political line of the League of Communists, no other concept is acceptable to us.

Criticism not only of the mechanisms and instruments, but indeed of the foundations of the economic system, ought not to deceive us. As a rule we are dealing with criticism of the political system. This criticism is all the fiercer as the criticism of the foundations of the economic system becomes more radical. And it is that exemption of the political system from the debate, the supposed failure to mention it, supposedly so as not to "intervene" in politics, that makes it incumbent upon us to make a good examination of the ideological positions which are the premises of that kind of criticism of the economic system. Are we not dealing, then, with the same kind of radical criticism of the political system, except that it is stated in terms of the economic system, appears to be ideologically neutral, and is committed only verbally to socialist self-management.

[Question] In a conversation with business executives of Serbia last week you dwelled particularly on inflation, insisting on the line of argument that Yugo-inflation, however much it may be a part of today's world economic processes, has its own very specific domestic features.

[Answer] Yugoslav inflation has been studied many times and elucidated from the economic standpoint. The analyses coincide with one another quite a bit and come down to several conclusions. Two are the most essential ones: underutilization of capital investments and underutilization of labor. Both show that the social organization of production has not been in line with the available material and human potential. And if that is to be achieved, the correct merger of interests is needed: of the person who, for example, is making decisions on investment of capital and the interests of the person who will be working with those assets and will depend on the dimensions of expanded reproduction. That linkup is a rarity with us. That is, when the investment process begins, both proceed mainly on the basis of how many new jobs and how much new income will be obtained, without making a serious analysis of how much accumulation can be expected and what are the long-term possibilities for the survival and reproduction of such facilities on the domestic and world markets.

It seems to me that the whole time this has been creating the impression that there exists available social capital which "we" could make better use of than "others" if our share in decisionmaking were greater (our political share, say).

In various periods there have been various formulas which pointed specifically to this. Among them the one which only recently disappeared: "There is money enough for every good project." That type of behavior arose out of the mistaken impression already created concerning the limited possibility of using someone else's capital for one's own needs. That is how excessive foreign indebtedness came about and how the credit relationship became the predominant relationship in the economy and in society.

[Question] Another frequent "slogan," now that we are discussing them, is the one that holds that we are the victim of world economic troubles because we are an open country.

[Answer] I have already said what I think: Yugoslav inflation is a Yugoslav product. We should seek the causes here at home, on our own unstable market. The strategic directions for emerging from this situation are possible only in stretching out the inflationary spiral over a long period of time in which it would gradually decrease and in which the bad aspects of the previous economic strategy and tactics would be eliminated. I think that we ought to acknowledge the real level of inflation, reevaluate in market terms the planned system for the conduct of economic activity (the market is the most important part of the planning orientation), defend ourselves against artificial equalization of employed persons for the sake of welfare, achieving at the same time socialist solidarity, and return still more radically to the idea of division according to labor and the results of labor.

Nor, to be sure, can we neglect the influence of the world economic crisis, but neither should we overemphasize it. We must free ourselves of the fear of greater openness toward the world market, but we must be better integrated through self-management on the unified Yugoslav market. It is easy to be brave when there is no other choice.

7045
CSO: 2800/41

PAY SCALES FOR OFFICIALS ANALYZED, ARGUED

Call for Publication, Change

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1604, 27 Sep 81 pp 10-12

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic: "How To Pay Officials"]

[Text] Do you perhaps know the size of the personal income of the president of your opstina? Or of any of the political officials whose election you participated in?

Which accounts for all the mystification and conjecturing about how much political officeholders earn. This has even been discussed in a session of the Federal Social Council for Questions of the Social System, which last Friday debated the uniform elements for remuneration of officeholders. It was literally said in that meeting that there has been manipulation with the earnings of political officeholders, that they are exaggerated, that people are saying that they earn between 70,000 and 100,000 dinars, which, it was also said, is not true. Which is why, it was emphasized at that meeting, the earnings of political officeholders should be accessible to the public.

Actually there are no figures on how much political officeholders earn monthly. Not even in newspaper documentation, which is regarded as a "storehouse of data," did we encounter any reliable figures on this in the more recent period. According to that documentation, the last public debates on the level of the monthly earnings of political officials were conducted in 1970 and 1971. It was proposed at that time that the highest monthly personal income of a political officeholder in the republic or province could not be greater than 7,000 dinars and "that the president of the youth organization should not have more than 4,000 dinars."

And that is all.

Outside the System

On the basis of which and what sort of criteria have political officeholders been "earning" their personal income up to now? On the basis of the so-called

coefficient, which is the ratio 1:5. In practical terms this means that no political officeholder can have monthly income exceeding fivefold the average income of the work force in the socialized sector. When we know that the average earnings of persons employed in the socialized sector was slightly over 9,000 dinars in June, then no political officeholder in that month could receive more than 45,000 dinars. It was said at that same meeting that in practice use is not made of the possibility granted by the coefficient in the ratio 1:5, which in practice means that the highest monthly earning of an official amounts to less than 45,000 dinars.

But what is least known about and what is least covered by the data are the so-called supplements of the office.

On the whole remuneration of officeholders "according to the coefficient" is not in line with our present system. After all, most of the legislative acts regulating the personal incomes of officials from the Federation to the opstina were adopted before adoption of the law on associated labor and the law on the foundations of the system of government administration, and also before the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility was implemented in practice. That is why there is a need to bring remuneration of officeholders into conformity with development of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical systems.

It is with these remarks that the proposal was indeed presented of a social compact which insists that the same criteria and the same scales apply to all sociopolitical officeholders in all sociopolitical communities, and they are to be adjusted to remuneration in associated labor.

What are the essential changes this proposal contains?

First of all, the principle that there cannot exist one system for the personal incomes of political officeholders and another system for the remainder of the work force in the socialized sector. In practice this means that work and the results of work will determine the material and social status of political officeholders as well, depending on the overall contribution of past and present labor. This is one of the future criteria, which number nine in all. Moreover, an officeholder's personal income would depend among other things on the rise of the social productivity of labor and the trend of income and personal incomes in the economy of the particular sociopolitical community. The other criteria pertain mostly to the functioning of the social and political system.

Funds for the personal incomes of officials would be provided separately to each body and agency and organization in their total amount, "on the basis of the jointly agreed bases and scales and on the basis of the relevant legislative acts for each sociopolitical community.

When the decision is being made on the size of the total funds for each body and agency and organization, an assessment would be made of the function's value to society, the sociopolitical significance of the function, independence and intensity of work and tasks which constitute the content of the function and the direct social accountability for performance of particular functions, while the

criteria and scales pertaining to earnings on the basis of past and present labor would also be stated precisely.

In future officeholders would not have any supplement of the office whatsoever, and "all other" income would be in conformity with "other income" in associated labor. Thus per diems for official travel in Yugoslavia would be able to go as high as 12 percent of the average monthly personal income earned by the work force in the economy of the particular sociopolitical community; reimbursement of moving expenses would be paid on the basis of the carrier's bill (or a lump-sum payment would be made not to exceed the amount of that official's monthly personal income); compensation for use of annual vacation could not be greater than 60 percent of the average monthly personal income in the economy of the particular sociopolitical community; severance pay at the time of retirement would be paid up to the amount of three monthly personal incomes of that official, and all officeholders living separately from their families would have the right to four monthly visits, the expenses to be justified.

The proposal which was discussed and the discussion in the meeting itself emphasized that the number of political officeholders ought to be reduced. To be specific: the term "officeholder" would extend only down through the deputy federal, republic or provincial secretary and corresponding offices in sociopolitical organizations and opstinas." Should this proposal be adopted, the number of officeholders would be considerably reduced. In addition, it would be precisely known who the political officeholders are, which up to now has not been the case. (In some places, for example, even the head of an officeholder's office staff was referred to as a "political officeholder.")

Fewer Officeholders

The proposal of that social compact was basically accepted in the meeting we have mentioned, but quite a few objections were also made. Among others, that certain solutions had been taken over from the old system and that past labor is being given preference over present labor in remuneration, which runs counter to the Law on Associated Labor. It was said that the new system ought to contribute to faster deprofessionalization of political office.

There ought not to be any acquired rights, it was specifically emphasized, with respect to the remuneration of officeholders.

When the meeting had ended, one got the impression that quite a bit of the job still remained to be done so that the remuneration of officeholders might be "fitted in" as a function of associated labor. Especially since associated labor itself does not have valid criteria for evaluating the results of work, which means that it lacks them for distribution as well. If associated labor lacks clear criteria concerning distribution, and that is at least the case in a majority of work organizations, how, then, can they be defined concerning the remuneration of officeholders? To go further, in what respect would the criteria concerning distribution in associated labor still differ from that applied to political officeholders: associated labor must first realize income, and only then divide it up on the basis of criteria concerning the results of work.

In the case of officeholders, on the other hand, the only thing to be done is to devise criteria concerning distribution, since the funds are appropriated through the budget or in some other fiscal manner.

Inflation "is opposed" to the drafting of clear criteria and also to their application throughout society. The higher the level of inflation, the more leveling is evident in distribution. Nor is it any surprise that officeholders are complaining of leveling. It was stated in that meeting, for example, that certain heads of the office staff of officeholders have personal incomes only 4,000 dinars less than their bosses.

Incidentally, the social compact on remuneration of officeholders on which everyone insists has to be enacted before the next elections.

Situation in Serbia

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1604, 27 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Article by D. Jovanovic]

[Text] There are at least two (extreme) opinions concerning the pay of officeholders in Serbia. According to one that is widespread in the population, they are too high and also difficult to justify; according to the other, which is held by fewer people and is based on better information, the republic administration in Serbia has the lowest pay of any republic or province. The second line of argument was supposedly taken even by Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, in a semiclosed meeting. But in an interview lasting only a moment Stambolic told us: "No, I did not say that. I said that our administration is the smallest in view of the work which it has. And so that it might be seen which republic administration and which officeholders are the best paid and the worst paid, the payroll list ought to be published in the newspapers: publicly."

Zivorad Jakovljevic, chairman of the administrative commission of the Serbian Assembly is the man whose desk contains all the payroll lists of elected officials, from those "top ones" to the deputy republic secretaries. Jakovljevic spoke to us first about the criteria for setting the pay level of officeholders, mentioning for his own part how devilishly difficult and even illusory that job is:

"We have striven as far as possible for the basic principle to be distribution on the basis of the results of work. But how is one to measure the work of an officeholder? How is one to determine whether the meeting of the chambers of the assembly attended by the president of the Serbian Assembly is more important than consulting with the presidents of opstinas, whose proceedings he also participated in that same day? Finally, it may sound as though I'm on the defensive, but in society at large we have not solved the problem of remuneration according to work even in production proper."

Nevertheless, the work of officeholders in Serbia has been measured and classified by groups according to the importance, responsibility and complexity of the tasks that go with each political office. There are five groups, and each has its own coefficient used to determine the level of the officeholder's personal income (when it is multiplied by the average personal income in the republic's economy).

In the first group, with a coefficient of 4.2, are the so-called "top-level officials": the chairman of the SR Serbia State Presidency, the president of the Serbian Assembly, the chairman of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, the chairman of the Republic Conference of the SAWP, the president of the republic trade unions and the president of the republic SUBNOR [Federation of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War].

In the second group, with a coefficient of 3.73, are the vice presidents in the Serbian Assembly, the presidents of the chambers of the assembly, the vice chairmen of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, the president of the Serbian Constitutional Court, members of the State Presidency of SR Serbia, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and members of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP.

The third group (coefficient 3.52) is made up of the chairmen of the working bodies of the Serbian Assembly, members of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, the associate judges of the Constitutional Court, chairmen of republic judicial bodies, chairmen for the forms of activity of the Republic Conference of the SAWP, chairmen of committees and commissions of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, and executive secretaries of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In the fourth group (coefficient 3.30) are the republic secretaries working in the Serbian Assembly and Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly and directors of directorates and organizations of interest to the republic (the Bureau for Statistics of SR Serbia, the Bureau for Public Administration, the Republic Geodetic Administration and the Directorate of Commodity Reserves).

And in the fifth group, whose coefficient is 3.10, are the deputy republic secretaries and judges of the Supreme Court of Serbia.

As we have said, the coefficients are multiplied by the average personal income in the republic's economy, which last year was 7,334 dinars in Serbia. But it has been agreed at the level of the republic that the base which is to be multiplied by the coefficient will be lower than the average republic personal income and is to be 6,520 dinars. Since this January the pay of officeholders has been raised 12 percent "though it might have been raised 26 percent on the basis of the self-management accord."

The personal incomes of elected officials this year looked like this by groups (past labor was not taken into account): officials in the first group have been receiving 27,384 dinars of personal income, those in the second group 24 320

dinars, in the third group 22,951 dinars, in the fourth 21,516, and in the fifth 20,212 dinars per month.

Officeholders receive on the basis of past labor 0.5 percent for each year of service, but the amount paid for past labor cannot exceed 20 percent of the personal income. It follows that no elected republic official in Serbia can have a personal income larger than 32,861 dinars, Jakovljevic added.

Then comes the inevitable question of the supplements of the office.

Aside from the lump-sum payment of four per diems (which amounts to 2,800 dinars, since the officeholder's per diem is 700 dinars) which in future will be received only by delegates working on a permanent basis in the SFRY Assembly and in the republic and provincial assemblies, there are no other supplements or privileges whatsoever, Jakovljevic says. The lump-sum payments, which are "a situation inherited from the period of deputies," are living out, then, their last days, though certain delegates receiving them feel that they are small and that visits to their electoral units are becoming more and more expensive.

Do officeholders in Serbia have certain other privileges?

"Aside from the 'top-level officials' no one is entitled to use an automobile to travel to and from work. Except for them no one has the right to alcoholic beverages for purposes of public relations," Jakovljevic says.

According to figures on official travel which were available to us, it turns out that officeholders are rather thrifty. The average number of per diems paid for all of 1980 is 10.5 per official; along with Jakovljevic's remark that officeholders as a rule are not paid a per diem for official travel on which they depart in the morning and return in the evening. As everywhere, there are, of course, exceptions.

In conclusion, the person we talked to announced that thought is being given to raising the pay of officeholders before the end of the year.

Situation in Slovenia

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1604, 27 Sep 81 p 12

[Article reprinted from the Ljubljana newspaper DELO, 29 April 1981]

[Text] Personal incomes (and total income) of delegates, elected and appointed officeholders, and holders of public positions in SR Slovenia were as follows as of 31 March 1981:

1. A personal income from 25,000 to 31,860 goes to the chairman of the State Presidency of SR Slovenia, the chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the chairman of the Republic Conference of the SAWP, members of the State Presidency of SR Slovenia, the president of the Republic Assembly and the chairman of the Executive Council of Slovenia, the president

of the Constitutional Court and the presiding officers of the republic trade unions, the republic committee of the Federation of Veterans, the Economic Chamber of Slovenia, and the secretaries of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

The personal income of members of the Council of the Federation From SR Slovenia who are not receiving pensions ranged from 24,060 to 31,854 dinars.

ii. A personal income ranging from 22,919 to 25,780 dinars was paid to the vice presidents of the republic assembly and vice chairmen of the executive council, the presidents of the chambers of the assembly, the chairman of the Republic Conference of the SAWP and the republic council of the Federation of Trade Unions, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the chairmen of the republic social councils for questions of the social system, economic development and economic policy, the republic public defender of self-management law, the secretary of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP and the secretary of the republic committee of the Federation of Veterans. Within that same range were the personal incomes of the president of the Supreme Court of SR Slovenia, the Court of Associated Labor of SR Slovenia, the republic public prosecutor and the associate judges of the Constitutional Court.

iii. A personal income within the range from 19,502 to 23,057 dinars was paid to members of the republic executive council, republic secretaries or chairmen of republic committees, the director of the Bureau of SR Slovenia for Social Questions, the chairman of the commissions of the Assembly of SR Slovenia; members of the republic presidium of the Conference of the SAWP, of the republic council of the Federation of Trade Unions, executive secretaries and chairmen of commissions of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, the vice president of the republic economic chamber and the chairmen of the executive committees of the general associations, the deputy republic defender of self-management law, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Assembly of the Community of Culture of SR Slovenia. In that same range are the personal incomes of the solicitor general of SR Slovenia, the associate judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Associated Labor and the deputy public prosecutors of SR Slovenia.

iv. Personal incomes ranging from 18,950 to 21,574 dinars are distributed to the chairman of the republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League, that organization's vice president and secretary, the secretary of the republic Conference of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers, deputy republic secretaries and deputy chairmen of republic committees, the deputy director of the Bureau for Social Planning of SR Slovenia, the deputy solicitor general of SR Slovenia and the president of the republic Court for Misdemeanors.

These personal incomes are augmented by a certain percentage on the basis of the Regulation on Past Labor. This increase ranges from 1 percent for employees who have less than 5 years of service to 12 percent for workers with more than 30 years of service. For example: if an officeholder whose personal income is 31,860 dinars has more than 30 years of longevity, which is fairly likely, that increase would amount to 3,498 dinars, for a total of 35,358 dinars.

These are the figures reported by the Commission of Signatories of the Social Compact on Bases and Scales of Personal Incomes and Other Income of Delegates of Elected and Appointed Officials and Holders of Public Office in SR Slovenia as of 31 March 1981.

Croatian Trade Unionist Interviewed

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1196, 6 Oct 81 pp 14-15

[Interview with Dusan Dragun, secretary of the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions, by Stevan Zec in Zagreb during October: "There Is a Yardstick Even for Officeholders"]

> [Text] These past several weeks there has been debate in all the republics, provinces and also the Federation on who is and who is not an officeholder and who should and who should not receive an officeholder's personal income. As we examined the accessible material and reports, we asked for an interview with Dusan Dragun, secretary of the Council of the Federation of Croatian Trade Unions, who is also chairman of the commission for monitoring enforcement of the self-management accord on remuneration of officeholders in Croatia and at the same time a member of the commission for resolving the housing problems of officeholders in Zagreb.

A Supplement, Yes, But Not Another Salary

[Question] Comrade Dragun, why are the incomes of officeholders being debated at this time? Does the reason lie in the upcoming elections, or is something else involved?

[Answer] The discussions about remuneration of officeholders in sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations did not begin, at least here in Croatia, because of any excessive situations--which do occur--but out of a need for maximum application of our constitution and the Law on Associated Labor to this remuneration. Moreover, I think that there is a need to speak in public about this, as indeed about everything else. Every veil of secrecy should be removed from this question, since there are no reasons to hide anything, either because of what has already occurred or in particular because of what will be in the future. The policy governing the personal incomes of officeholders must be absolutely public, if for no other reason to avoid the situation where a man who looks at the television news says: "Who is this man to talk about stabilization when he has a salary of 5 or 6 million!" It is certain that there is quite a bit of mistrust with people precisely because there was not enough public access. At a meeting of the Federal Council for the Social System one member of the SFRY State Presidency said that even his relatives and close friends did not believe that he had a monthly income of 37,000 dinars and certain other very limited benefits.

[Question] What will be the principal change in the manner of remuneration of officeholders in SR Croatia, and what did you advocate in meetings at the federal level?

[Answer] We are in favor of every person elected to public office of having the personal income which he brought with him from his work organization, but to this would be added an appropriate supplement that goes with the post, which he would receive while he is in that position. When his term of office is over, that supplement is, of course, also terminated. The officeholder's supplement ought to be determined in such a way as above all to precisely evaluate the position and to establish the complexity of the work, the responsibility and the working conditions. For example, a worker from an organization of associated labor has been elected, and he has been receiving 15,000 dinars a month, and the position to which he has been elected is evaluated at 22,000 dinars. During his term of office he would receive from the forum or institution 7,000 dinars and from his own work organization he would continue to receive his personal income which he was earning there previously. This is especially important because of the system of collective leadership. A man remains a member of the collective governing body, but he is an officeholder for only 1 year, while he is the chairman, and only during that time can he receive the officeholder's supplement, but not afterward.

[Question] How is the personal income to be determined for officeholders who do not come from associated labor, but who are only moving from one public office to another?

[Answer] That example was also taken up in the meetings of the republic commission. Our point of departure should be the fact that in all our political commitments we oppose repetition of the term of office and the circulation of the same people from a forum of the League of Communists to the trade unions or to the SAWP, or from the executive council to the Croatian Assembly. Yet there are, and there will probably continue to be, people who left associated labor long ago. That is why we are demanding that conditions be drafted in the social compact under which transitional solutions would be found for the personal incomes of people moving from one public office to another. I think there will be fewer and fewer such people. Perhaps for just a few more years, until the principle of collective leadership becomes altogether firm.

Halving the Number of Officeholders

[Question] Within these changes it is being proposed only in SR Croatia that there be a reduction in the number of people who are now on the payroll as officeholders. What is this really all about?

[Answer] In Croatia at the present time there are about 6,500 people who earn their personal income under the system which we refer to as the officeholders' system. These are people in the assemblies of opstinas, communities of opstinas, in the republic and in the courts. Nor does this number include senior officials in self-managing communities of interest. We are demanding that this number be at least cut in half in this republic. Of course, we will not be

driving these people out at all, but they will rather be moved where they belong, and that is the work communities in which work is evaluated by other criteria. Another innovation is that the term "officeholders" will apply only to those who are appointed by the highest forums of delegate bodies: assemblies of opstinas, the republic assembly and the highest bodies of sociopolitical organizations: the central committee of the republic's League of Communists, the republic Conference of SAWP, of SUBNOR, of the Socialist Youth League, and the republic trade union council. None of those chosen by executive bodies can be officeholders. Likewise judges cannot receive officeholders' personal incomes, but must be included in work communities.

[Question] In a recent meeting in Belgrade the opinion was expressed that SR Serbia has fewer officeholders than any republic or province. Does SR Croatia want to reduce the number of officeholders because it has the largest number?

[Answer] No, neither does Serbia have the least, nor does Croatia have the largest number of officeholders. It is a matter of what is meant by the officeholder and who are all those people who receive the same personal income as received by elected officials. It is certain that we in Croatia think that we have a great number, even too many paid officials. In the further development of the delegate system we must demand that there be fewer and fewer professionals and more and more of those who are voluntarily performing sociopolitical functions. When we reduce, that is, reduce to half, the number of people who figure as officeholders in the manner in which they earn their income, we will not reduce the size of the staff, but we will only be compelling those who are not objectively officeholders to move into work communities and to earn their income like the rest of the administrative apparatus.

[Question] Will those people be receiving smaller income in the work communities than what they are now receiving as officeholders?

[Answer] No, in the work communities they are receiving approximately the same income. The specialized staff services of committees, of assemblies, of republic conferences and similar bodies even now have rather high incomes, almost as high as those of officeholders, so that those people who give up their places on the payroll of officeholders will not be hurt if they do enough work. It is just that work will be better measured in the work communities. They will have to work more to earn what they have now been receiving, as I would put it, on almost a lump-sum basis. The highest personal income of an officeholder in SR Croatia is the chairman of the Presidency, who receives 37,000 dinars per month. The lowest incomes of officeholders in our republic are 21,800 dinars. We believe that those are decent personal incomes, but we also feel that they are not superhigh incomes. There are quite a few people in associated labor who have considerably higher incomes. There are even a few hundred persons employed in the economy and noneconomic activities who earn more than 35,000 dinars a month. These are business executives, specialists, university professors and scientists. There are also skilled and highly skilled workers, miners, lumberjacks, masons and metalworkers who have monthly earnings of 30,000 or even 40,000 dinars. We feel that this is normal.

To Each According to the Community

[Question] When the new social compact is implemented, will the real personal incomes of elected officials be larger or smaller than now?

[Answer] Over the last 5 years, if we compare the income of officeholders to the economy, their earnings have been dropping steadily. According to my estimates, applying the new scales for personal incomes of officials ought to mean a smaller decline of their real earnings; that is, they should be greater in real terms than they are now.

[Question] Does that mean that certain people have begun to renounce public office because their earnings are greater in work organizations?

[Answer] Yes, exactly so. There are cases where people do not want to become judges, since their colleagues who are lawyers in the economy have passed them by a considerable amount. This is yet another reason why we must transfer judges from the payroll of officeholders to work communities.

[Question] The most highly developed of our republics is Slovenia, and the most underdeveloped federal unit it is SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. The chairmen of the presidencies of that republic and that province have up to now been receiving approximately the same personal incomes, but how will it be in the future?

[Answer] There have to be differences. By the very fact that incomes will be indexed to the success of associated labor in the relevant community rather than to some federal or republic average, there will have to be a difference between the personal incomes of officials. There will be differences in income at the same level of officeholders from one republic or province to another, just as there will be differences in earnings, say, of opstina presidents within a single republic. This is inevitable.

[Question] When the new system for remuneration of officeholders was being debated at the federal level, what were the differences in views of the delegations of the republics and provinces?

[Answer] We more or less agreed on all essential questions. Yet there were differences. Above all about how to measure and pay for the past labor of officeholders. We from Croatia felt that the proposals of certain republics and provinces were unrealistic in proposing that the past labor of officeholders be paid at a higher level than past labor of workers in associated labor. There ought not to be any differences whatsoever in other rights based on labor and arising out of labor either. Here again officeholders can be put on a par with other working people. It is unacceptable for them to have larger remuneration for separation from family, a higher supplement for longevity, higher per diems, larger severance pay and higher moving expenses. Our position is that these supplements cannot be lower than they are in the economy, but not higher either.

[Question] How do you measure the value of the officeholder's labor?

[Answer] The first and basic thing is that one does not pay for a name, but for the value or complexity of the position. There has been quite a bit of reflection about whether there should be a reduction of the personal income of, for example, the chairman of the executive council if within a particular period that forum as a whole does not do its job well enough. What seems to me the correct conclusion was drawn to the effect that the entire executive council will not do better work in the following months if its chairman is receiving a personal income 5 or 10 percent below what it was. There is a need to put the question of personal responsibility in a more exacting way, to take other social measures, including recall or removal if necessary. Reducing the personal incomes of office holders can only be an auxiliary, but by no means the principal reaction to poor work in some public office.

[Question] There was also talk about whether members of the Council of the Republic or Council of the Federation are officeholders or not. Are they to receive their personal incomes according to the same scale as elected officials? What position was taken by the commission in SR Croatia?

[Answer] In our case there are very few, an almost negligible number, of people who are members of the Council of the Republic and who are receiving a personal income. The members of the council are mainly retired people. However, if there are people who are not pensioners, in Croatia we will apply to them the same scales as those which apply to other officeholders. As for the Council of the Federation, it is our position that that kind of solution and the opinion that we have arrived at in the republic be honored here.

Who Is Entitled to an Official Dinner?

[Question] The public feels that perhaps net personal incomes of officeholders are not excessively high, but that a number of other benefits objectively raises the standard of living of those people. Recently a query was put in the assembly as to why certain officeholders are going for medical treatment and summer vacations at federal expense. There was also mention of use of the villa at Igalo for this purpose, when heating the swimming pool alone cost 10,000 dinars. Are there similar benefits for summer vacations and travel of officeholders in SR Croatia?

[Answer] These are exceptions and isolated cases, but at the federal level. In our case, for instance, the republic assembly or the central committee and the republic conferences do not have special facilities for special purposes. There are no opportunities to take advantage of privileges on this basis. For several years now the trade unions have advocated not giving the discount for annual vacations to those who earn more than 15,000 dinars monthly. This year not a single officeholder in the republic council of Croatian trade unions received the discount. Unfortunately, that is not the case in the Assembly of SR Croatia, the executive council, and so on. I hope that in a year or two we will reach the point where no officeholder will receive the discount any longer. Nor are officeholders in Croatia receiving tickets for hot meals, but members of work communities are receiving them. Not a single officeholder in SR Croatia has any

sort of reduction on public transportation except the delegates to the republic assembly, and that applies only when they are coming to meetings. Republic institutions also have a small jet airplane which is used exclusively for emergency meetings at the federal level. Not a single one of our sociopolitical organizations has its own airplane. To be sure, the assembly of one opstina wanted to buy an airplane, but that fell through.

[Question] In looking at television we become convinced that officeholders take official trips frequently. When they travel, they receive per diems. Then again, it is well known that there are quite a few official lunches and dinners. What are all the benefits paid to an officeholder during official travel?

[Answer] Per diems in SR Croatia amount to 600 dinars, and if a bill is presented for lodgings, then 800 dinars. If anyone is traveling for less than 12 hours, his per diem amounts to 300 dinars. We have very strict auditing and internal monitoring of sociopolitical communities and organizations. It is certainly taken into account that no opstina can pay a republic official's hotel bill. Perhaps there are exceptions, but those are exceptions that confirm the rule. Incidentally, it is normal for officeholders to use hotel services and to pay for that themselves. Perhaps there are cases to the contrary, but they are very rare; I would say they are negligible cases from the standpoint of the individual's material benefit. But from the standpoint of social harm not a single solitary case ought to be allowed to happen. As for meals, these joint lunches and dinners have been reduced to a minimum, at least with us in the trade unions. As a rule they are arranged only when the most responsible comrades come. It is my judgment that this is considerably less than done by business people in associated labor. To be sure, it is not a justification for officeholders if this is done in certain other places, and this should be abolished. It is worth stressing that things like this which we did have are now being recorded more and more rarely thanks to public scrutiny of public business. Even this conversation of ours will have a considerable impact in eliminating those things.

Bachelor's Apartment for the Duration of the Term of Office

[Question] In discussing the standard of living of officeholders it is impossible to avoid housing. What happens in practice is that a man receives an apartment thanks to the office he holds. When his term of office is over, he keeps the apartment. Will there be any changes in this respect?

[Answer] We are insisting in housing policy that the city decision to the effect that the maximum housing space is one room per member of the family be applied to republic officials as it is applied to other citizens of Zagreb. That means that a three-member family would have a three-room apartment, a four-member family a four-room apartment.... That is the upper limit. But the fact that some officeholder does not leave his family apartment which he has received on taking up his office is a matter of personnel policy in the republic, that is, a matter of his moving from position to position, and not of his refusing to leave that apartment. However, we have already let contracts for some 50 bachelor's apartments. They will be for republic officeholders who come from the provinces, and after their term of office expires, they will leave them to their successors.

7045
CSO: 2800/47

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

19 Nov. 1981